Soviet Union, which is perhaps the most tyrannical government since Western civilization entered the modern era, sits as an equal partner with nations with long-established constitutions of law, order, and a respect of the rights of man. Now, there are those who urge the admission of Communist China which was the aggressor in the Korean war. This, together with the other Communist states, would give that system of tyranny over 800 million people that they claim to speak for.

As for me, as long as I have a voice or a vote in the Senate of the United States, I shall never consent to permitting the guaranties of freedom under our Constitution being diluted or modified directly or indirectly by any organization having in powerful policy positions nations which have no appreciation of or respect for free institu-

tions.

Lest we be gradually edged into such a world state before we learn too late wherein we have been taken, I believe that every candidate for public office—executive, legislative, or judicial—should be asked to give a forthright view upon this great public issue.

forthright view upon this great public issue. The United Nations, if it does not destroy its moral position by actions which I shall mention, does have a function it could per-It could be a forum wherein the views of the free world and the Communist world might be aired to the benefit of the peoples of the world, provided that there was assurance the debates in the General Assembly or the Security Council were receiving as widespread coverage behind the Iron Curtain as they do in the free nations of the world. Otherwise it becomes a vast propaganda forum for the Communist wherein the point of view of the West does not have the equal opportunity to get to the people in the Soviet Union and its satellites because of the strict censorship those governments exercise.

Even in regard to its position of moral leadership, the United Nations has allowed itself to become seriously compromised.

Following the intervention of Communist China into the Korean war, the United Nations, after great hesitation, declared Communist China the aggressor. There had been no such hesitation when the small aggressor Communist Korea crossed the 38th parallel in June of 1950.

To close observers this seemed to indicate that there would be alacrity to pass a resolution and to act against a small aggressor, but there would be procrastination and delay in acting against a large aggressor. This seemed to be an abandonment of principle for expediency.

Later, when the evidence was conclusive that the Soviet Union was not only giving moral support to Communist aggression in Korea but was supplying MIG planes, tanks, artillery, ammunition, and other weapons in clear violation of the United Nations resolution and the charter of the organization no steps were taken to expel the Soviet Union from the United Nations.

Later on, the official representative of the Soviet Union baldly and boldly admitted the fact that such support had been given and in effect defied the United Nations to do anything about it. They did nothing.

Every member of the United Nations knows that the terms of the Korean armistice have been violated on numerous occasions. The Neutral Nations Commission is not allowed to function in Communist North Korea as it was intended though they have complete freedom in the area of the free Republic of Korea. In violation of the terms of the armistice the Communists have brought in equipment and built military air fields.

The most flagrant violation has been the admitted holding of 15 members of the American Air Force, 11 of whom have been sentenced to prison terms of from 4 to 10 years. Under the terms of the armistice it was required that all prisoners of war who wanted to be returned should be allowed to do so.

There is strong reason to believe that there are at least several hundred additional United Nations and United States prisoners of war being held in violation of the terms of the armistice.

United Nations passed a resolution expressing its concern in this matter. The Secretary General, Mr. Hammarskjold, made a special trip to Peking. He returned without the release of the prisoners and without any date upon which they might be expected to be returned in the future. It is apparent that they are being held for the purposes of international blackmail on the part of the Chinese Communists.

Impotent and paralyzed, the United Nations Security Council and General Assembly has taken no effective steps to enforce compliance in accordance with terms of the Korean armistice.

In the matter of the Chinese Communist aggression against the Republic of China which is a charter member of the United Nations, that Organization invited the Chinese Communists to come to New York to discuss a cease-fire.

Arrogantly, the Chinese Communists laid down terms that a victor would be expected to lay down to the vanquished—namely, that the Republic of China should be removed from the Security Council and that the Soviet Union resolution condemning the United States should be made the order of business rather than the New Zealand resolution relative to a cease-fire.

When this message was received, the United Nations again demonstrated its ineffectiveness by postponing the whole situation while some of the neutralist friends of the Soviet Union and Red China are trying through diplomatic channels to provide for a Far-Eastern Munich whereby the Chinese Communists will be given the key coastal islands of Quemoy and Matsu. This, of course, would be another defeat for the free world and throughout all of Asia looked upon as another victory for the Communists, comparable to that growing out of the Geneva conference wherein the Communists gained control of northern Victnam and 15 million more human beings.

These are not pleasant facts, and there are many in this country and elsewhere who, because of the vast amount of publicity and propaganda, have gotten a distorted view of the capabilities of the United Nations Organization.

Certainly in this day and age of the airplane and the atomic weapon, a nation can no more return to isolationism than an adult can return to childhood.

It is important that we have a system of effective collective security and to demonstrate to the Communist world that there will be no further retreats or the abandonment of free people into Communist hands.

This Nation will live up to all of its treaty obligations, and we have the right to expect that our allies will do likewise.

I have a deep conviction that the American people and those throughout the free world who understand the dangers facing us, will never again pay the price of another Yalta or another Geneva in order to buy a temporary respite from the insatiable appetite of international Communists to destroy human freedom.

# SENATE

Tuesday, February 22, 1955

The Chaplain, P.ev. Frederick Brown Harris, D. D., offered the following prayer:

O Thou Master of all good workmen, with reverent hearts this day on which, in the swift current of the year, the Republic pauses in grateful remembrance, we come with but one human name upon our lips: We lift our Te Deum for Thy servant, George Washington, whose unsullied record and towering personality rise still above all that is solled and sordid, even as the white shaft in the National City which bears his name is lifted above all that is of the earth earthy.

Today, as again in this hallowed Chamber we listen to his wise and deathless parting words, words of moral wisdom and elevated patriotism, may we be conscious that he emerges before us from the crowded years since he fell on sleep. We would see him as he stands in lofty reserve, with impassive dignity that

no one dared to violate; yet courteous and considerate, conciliatory and patient; ever ready to listen to reason, seeking light from any quarter; the embodiment of both virtue and power, ever scorning selfish scramble for plunder or place. We would keep his memory and deeds perpetually fresh in the minds of the favored citizens of the great Nation which calls him father.

Like him, may those who serve in the ministry of public affairs be conscious of a divine mission, acting always from the severest sense of duty, indifferent to praise or blame, devoid of jealousy, unswayed by passion or prejudice. Thus may they, like him, labor on valiantly and patiently, through evil and good report, to the final coronation of freedom and of truth. We ask it in the name of the Lord whom he adored. Amen.

## THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. CLEMENTS, and by unanimous request, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Monday, February 21, 1955, was dispensed with.

### MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the Senate by Mr. Miller, one of his secretaries.

### READING OF WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the order of the Senate of January 24, 1901, Washington's Farewell Address will now be read by the senior Senator from Connecticut [Mr. Bush], who has been heretofore designated by the Vice President for that purpose.

Mr. BUSH advanced to the desk, and read the Farewell Address, as follows:

To the people of the United States:

FRIENDS AND FELLOW CITIZENS: The period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to

me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those, out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken, without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly The strength of my inclination drawn. to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say that I have, with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience, in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and, every day, the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe that. while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment which is to terminate the career of my political life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for

the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging-in situations in which not unfrequently, want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism,—the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans, by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing yows that heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence-that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual-that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained—that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue-that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these states, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete by so careful a preservation, and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence; the support of your tranquility at home; your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee that, from different causes and from different quarters much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth, as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and

insidiously) directed; it is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as the palladium of your political safety and prosperity: watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can, in any event, be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth, or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of American, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have, in a common cause, fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess, are the work of joint counsels, and joint efforts, of common dangers, suffering, and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they addressed themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest.—Here, every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The north, in an unrestrained intercourse with the south, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter. great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry.-The south in the same intercourse, benefiting by the same agency of the north, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the north, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is un-equally adapted. The east, in a like intercourse with the west, already finds. and in the progressive improvement of interior communications by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The west derives from the east supplies requisite to its growth and comfort-and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions, to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as one nation. other tenure by which the west can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength; or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While then every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts, greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and, what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union, an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves. which so frequently afflict neighboring countries not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalship alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues, would stimulate and embitter. Hence likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which under any form of government are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty. In this sense it is, that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind and exhibit the continuance of the union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who, in any quarter, may endeavor to weaken its hands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs as matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations,-northern and southern-Atlantic and western; whence designing mer, may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart burnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head; they have seen, in the negotiation by the executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the senate of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal sat-isfaction at the event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how

unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the general government and in the Atlantic states, unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi. They have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain and that with Spain, which secure to them everything they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the union by which they were procured? will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such they are, who would sever them from their brethren and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute: they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances, in all times, have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of government, better calculated than your former, for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed. adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and maintaining within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government.—But the constitution which at any time exists, until changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power, and the right of the people to establish government, presuppose the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberations and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency.-They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force, to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation the will of party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common councils, and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to

become botent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men, will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your government and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only, that you steadily discountenance irregular opposition to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretext. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system; and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be involved, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments, as of other human institutions:—that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country:-that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion: and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interests in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with particular references to the founding them on geographical discrimination. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind.—It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and, sooner or later, the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors. turns this disposition to the purpose of his own elevation on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind, (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit or party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils, and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another; foments occasional riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which finds a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This within certain limits is probably true; and in governments of a monarchial cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent it bursting into a flame, lest instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution in those intrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department, to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government. a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power and proneness to abuse it which predominate in the human heart. is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power. by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasion of the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern: some of them in our country and under our own eyes.—To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the constitution designates .-But let there be no change by usurpation: for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments The precedent must are destroyed. always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and

morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without re-Whatever may be conceded to ligion. the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect, that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

It is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule, indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it should be

enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible, avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering, also, that timely disbursements, to prepare for danger, frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions, in time of peace, to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should cooperate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes, that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper object (which is always a choice of difficulties), ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue, which the public exigencies may at any time dictate

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct, and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too

novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt but, in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it; can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded: and that in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence, frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject: at other times. it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility, instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty of nations, has been the victim.

So likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducements or justifications. It leads also to concessions, to the favorite nation, of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions, by unnecessary parting with what ought to have been retained, and by exciting jealousy, ill will, and a disposition to retaliate in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld; and it gives to ambitious, corrupted or deluded citizens who devote themselves to the favorite nation, facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatnation

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are

particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils!—Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, (I conjure you to believe me fellow citizens.) the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove, that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial, else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defense against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation and excessive dislike for another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interest.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little *political* connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith: Here let us stop

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence, she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collusions of her friendships or enmittee.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation, when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor, or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliance with any portion of the foreign worlds; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to

public than private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But in my opinion, it is unnecessary, and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, and a liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them, conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied as experience and circumstances shall dictate: constantly keeping in view, that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you my countrymen. these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations, but if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare by which they have been dictated.

How far, in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have, at least, believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe; my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your representatives in both houses of congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest, to take a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe that, according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress, without interruption, to that degree of strength, and consistency which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations; I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat in which I promise myself to realize without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government—the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors and dangers.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

United States, 17th September, 1796.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I desire to express a word of commendation for the excellent manner in which the distinguished senior Senator from Connecticut [Mr. Bush] read Washington's Farewell Address. It was read clearly and distinctly and with a dignity befitting the immortal words of Washington.

THE SPIRIT OF GEORGE WASHING-TON—ADDRESS BY SENATOR ROB-ERTSON

Mr. BUSH. I thank the Senator from Massachusetts for his kind words.

Mr. President, at the request of the junior Senator from Virginia [Mr. Robertson], I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Record at this point an address entitled "The Spirit of George Washington," which the junior Senator from Virginia delivered today in Richmond, Va.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The address delivered by Senator Robertson is as follows:

THE SPIRIT OF GEORGE WASHINGTON

(Remarks of Senator Robertson at the annual meeting of the Sons of the Revolution in the State of Virginia, Richmond, Va., February 22, 1955)

As we gather tonight to celebrate the 223d anniversary of the birth of one justly called the Father of his Country, we cannot fall to take note of the fact that the more the historians evaluate the personality and the contribution to organized society of George Washington, the higher they write his name on fame's eternal scroll.

As a student of political history and political philosophy I have been impressed by the fact that while George Washington lived in a period that produced the greatest men our country has ever known, he enjoys the almost unique distinction of having been esteemed as highly by his contemporaries as

by posterity. This was in sharp contrast to the difficulties encountered in his day and time by our greatest political philosopher, Thomas Jefferson. The fame of Jefferson is now so secure that many of our generation are quite unaware that some of his contemporaries did not feel toward him as we do. For instance, although Jefferson prepared a resolution for presentation to the Continental Congress in 1776 with respect to congressional action in behalf of independence for the Thirteen Colonies, the Virginia delegation would not let Jefferson present that resolution but voted to confer that honor upon Richard Henry Lee. But Jefferson was a member of the committee appointed to frame the Declaration and upon the insistence of two northern statesmen, John Adams and Benjamin Franklin, prepared the actual draft which, with a few minor changes, was adopted by the Congress, and is now recognized as one of the greatest political documents of all

When Jefferson was Governor of Virginia he very properly complied with Washington's request to send to the Continental Army the Virginia Militia which Washington so urgently needed for the major struggle of freeing all of the Colonies. Jefferson, however, was bitterly criticized for leaving the Virginia State capitol unprotected and when the legislature had to flee from Richmond to Staunton to escape capture by the British cavalry under General Tarleton one of its first acts was to consider impeachment of Jefferson for alleged criminal negligence in leaving Richmond undefended.

Again, when Jefferson left the Church of England to push his fight for religious freedom, he incurred the enmity of some of the landed aristocracy and because Jefferson never thereafter joined any church, he was accused of being an atheist, although there could be no clearer proof of his faith in God than his reference in the Declaration of Independence to the fact that all men were created equal and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights.

And when Jefferson was President he was threatened with impeachment proceedings

for buying the Louisiana Territory from Napoleon without previous authority of Congress.

But so far as I can ascertain the only time his contemporaries ever challenged George Washington was when at the age of 21 he ran for the house of delegates from Frederick County on a platform to prohibit the sale of whisky to members of the Virginia Militta during its training periods. He was defeated on that issue.

Probably the most eloquent tribute that has ever been paid George Washington was in 1832 on the 100th anniversary of his birth when Congress adopted a joint resolution to celebrate the occasion with appropriate ceremonies and Daniel Webster was selected as the Presiding Officer and principal speaker. Daniel Webster was 17 years old when Washington died and never personally knew George Washington, but he, of course, knew many of Washington's friends and a number who had served under Washington in the Revolutionary War. He referred to them in what I regard as his greatest speech, at the laying of the cornerstone of the Bunker Hill Monument 50 years after the battle when, noting the number of veterans in his audience, he turned to them in his opening sentence and said: "Venerable men, you come down to us from a former generation.

In his memorable address in 1832 Webster outlined the true meaning of that generation, but before doing so he said of Washington:

We are met to testify our regard for him whose name is intimately blended with whatever belongs most essentially to the prosperity, the liberty, the free institutions, and the renown of our country. That name was of power to rally a nation, in the hour of thick-thronging public disasters and calamities; that name shown, amid the storm of war, a beacon light, to cheer and guide the country's friends; it flamed, too, like a meteor, to repel her foes. That name, in the days of peace, was a loadstone, attracting to itself a whole people's confidence, a whole people's love, and the whole world's respect. That name, descending with all time, spreading over the whole earth, and uttered in all the languages belonging to the tribes and races of men, will forever be pronounced with affectionate gratitude by everyone in whose breast there shall arise an aspiration for human rights and human liberty.'

It took my beloved friend and Virginia's greatest historian, Douglas Southall Freeman, six volumes to tell the world what he knew about George Washington, and death intervened before he could finish that task. I shall, therefore, tonight attempt to refer to only two qualities of Washington—his faith in God and his unselfish devotion to the public welfare which so clearly illustrated the truth of Pericles' statement that the whole earth is the sepulcher of famous men, and their story is not graven only on stone over their native earth, but lives on far away, without visible symbol, woven into the stuff of other men's lives.

Every schoolchild knows that Washington kneit in the snow of Valley Forge and prayed that God would give him help in the unequal struggle confronting him. Every schoolchild ought to know that the leaders of communism in Russia are firmly convinced that in order to make willing slaves of the masses and to make them accept without question the communistic theory that the state is supreme they must destroy faith in God and the ethical teachings of the Bible.

The recent change in leadership in the Politburo, the situation now existing in Korea, where for the first time in our history we failed to win a military victory, the recent developments in southeast Asia, and the unpredictability of France, which has received billions from our Treasury since the end of World War II, all add up to the fact that if we are to have an end to what is

euphoniously called a cold war without ultimately involving us in a shooting war of worldwide proportions something in addition to military strength at home and the distribution abroad of American gold will be required.

Behind the Russian Iron Curtain 800 million people have been organized by ruthless leaders in a program dedicated to the de-struction of all capitalistic states. That threat to our cherished institutions and our personal freedom has become so great that since the end of World War II we have loaned without hope of repayment, or donated outright, over \$50 billion to the still free nations of the world with the hope that they would stand shoulder to shoulder with us in opposition to further Communist aggression. have appropriated annually such unprecedented sums for our own defense that our national debt now stands at \$278 billion and in the 10th year after the close of the war which we had hoped would bring bona fide peace to a war-torn world our appropriations for military purposes comprise about 65 percent of our total annual budget.

In the early days of the Russian Revolution, when the oppressed people of that vast area were revolting against the tyranny of the Czars, we sympathized with that struggle and sent a military mission to Russia in 1918 to aid the newly formed Kerensky govern-But when that effort in behalf of a very limited form of personal freedom was overrun and destroyed by the Bolsheviks, an American observer, after commenting on how the Volga had run red with the blood of the nobility and the intelligentsia had been sent into exile in the frozen wastes of Siberia where the only softness under their feet was that of snow, concluded his appraisal of what had happened in Russia with these prophetic words: "Only in after years, when their sins have taught them charity, and their despair has taught them hope, and their loneliness has led them to faith, they shall listen again to the sound of bells coming across the field and comprehend and reverence the symbolism of the cross."

To many, that change in sentiment among the rank and file of the people of Russia is still a long way off, but it is not beyond the power of God to bring it about. Consequently, I have frequently said that we labor in vain to build a temple of peace that is not dedicated to the victory of moral force.

In a recent speech in Washington, Dr. Billy

Graham, referring to that problem said in effect that the essential ingredient in a formula for peace was a change in the hearts of men which could only be accomplished through a revival of the faith of our fathers; be accomplished the kind of faith, for instance, that Washington had when he knelt in the snow at Valley Forge and prayed for divine help; the faith that Benjamin Franklin had when he appealed for unity among the disagreeing members of the Philadelphia Constitutional Convention, saying: "In this situation of this assembly groping as it were in the dark to find political truth, and scarce able to distinguish it when presented to us, how has it happened, sir, that we have not hitherto once thought of humbly applying to the Father of light to illuminate our understanding?" Then after recounting how Washington had prayed during the 7 years of the Revolutionary War, and how everybody had prayed for success when 3 million colonists were arrayed against the then greatest world power, Franklin concluded by saying: "I have lived, sir, a long time, and the longer I live, the more convincing proofs I see of this truth-that God governs in the affairs of men. And if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without His notice, is it probable that an empire can rise without His aid?"

The second attribute of Washington, his unselfishness and devotion to duty epitomized in the phrase "First in war, first in peace, first in the hearts of his country-

men," is unique among the great military leaders of the world who have succeeded in

establishing new empires.

What a contrast, for instance, with the character of Napoleon, who led a successful revolution in France to destroy the doctrine of the divine right of kings and obtain a larger measure of freedom, equality, and justice for the people, only to turn that successful revolution into a new form of tyranny for the glorification of Napoleon.

No one can stand in that great mausoleum in Paris which the French people have built to the memory of Napoleon and look down upon that pink marble tomb in which his mortal remains lie without recalling the words of Robert Ingersoll when he the tomb of Napoleon: "And I thought of all the widows and orphans he had made; of all the tears that had been shed for his glory; of the only woman who had ever loved him torn from his heart by the ruthless hand of ambition. And I said, I would rather have been a poor French peasant and worn wooden shoes, I would rather have lived in a hut with the vines growing over the door and the grapes growing purple in the kisses of the autumn sun; I would rather have been that poor peasant and gone down to the tongueless silence of the dreamless dust, than to have been that impersonation of force and murder known as Napoleon the Great."

Today, we see France, a once great and once-powerful nation and one-time leader in the world for personal freedom, become a major concern to the remainder of the free We see a nation in which more than one-half of the population are atheists, and in which the largest single party is dominated by the French Communists.

It was with the vision that characterizes the true statesman that Daniel Webster, in paying tribute in 1832 to the memory George Washington and the Founding Fathers who had given us American constitu-tional liberty, said, "Gentlemen, for the tional liberty, said, "Gentlemen, for the earth which we inhabit, and the whole circle of the sun, for all the unborn races of mankind, we seem to hold in our hands, for their weal or woe, the fate of this experiment. If we fail, who shall venture the repetition? If our example shall prove to be one, not of encouragement, but of terror, not fit to be imitated, but fit only to be shunned, where else shall the world look for free models? this great western sun be struck out of the firmament, at what other fountain shall the lamp of liberty hereafter be lighted? What other orb shall emit a ray to glimmer, even, on the darkness of the world?

I am proud of the fact that I had ancestors who served under Washington in the Revolutionary War. I am proud of the fact that I am a descendant of the Harrison family of Charles City County that produced a signer of the Declaration of Independence. I am proud of the fact that three of my ancestors served in the Virginia Convention which ratified the Philadelphia Constitution.

But that pride would become as sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal if, in my service in the Congress of the United States, I did nothing to preserve those priceless principles of political and economic freedom that were born of the brain and purchased with the blood of our Founding Fathers. Every man here tonight shares that same rich heritage and the same solemn obligation to answer the question posed in 1832 by Daniel Webster when he said the world was anxious to learn "whether free states may be stable, as well as free; whether popular power may be trusted, as well as feared; in short, whether wise, regular, and virtuous self-government is a vision for the contemplation of theorists, or a truth established, illustrated, and brought into practice in the country of

Some years ago a grateful Nation erected a monument in Washington to the Father of our Country that was built of stone, and we in Richmond erected one made of bronze, but if we enshrine in our hearts the fear of of God and love of our fellowman which characterized the life of George Washington we will be building monuments to his memory more enduring than those of stone and bronze.

PROPOSED NATIONAL HIGHWAY PROGRAM-MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT (H. DOC. NO. 93)

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with the accompanying document, referred to the Committee on Public Works.

(For President's message, see House proceedings for today.)

### SUBCOMMITTEE MEETING DURING SENATE SESSION

On request of Mr. CLEMENTS, and by unanimous consent, the Subcommittee on Internal Security of the Committee on the Judiciary was authorized to meet today during the session of the Senate.

### LIMITATION OF DEBATE DURING MORNING HOUR

Mr. CLEMENTS. Mr. President, under the rule, there will be a morning hour for the presentation of petitions and memorials, the introduction of bills, and other routine matters, and I ask unanimous consent that any statements made in connection therewith be limited to 2 minutes.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered,

### STATEHOOD FOR HAWAII AND ALASKA-JOINT RESOLUTIONS OF OREGON LEGISLATURE

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I submit, for appropriate reference, two joint resolutions adopted by the Legislature of Oregon. One urges us to enact statehood for Hawaii, the other supports statehood for Alaska.

These joint resolutions, in my opinion, are not so much directed to us of the Congress, Mr. President, but to the Secretary of the Interior, Douglas Mc-Kay, who is a former Governor of Oregon, and a former member of the Oregon Legislature, which adopted the joint

Secretary McKay has dragged his heels on Alaskan statehood, repudiating his onetime support of such a step. He even went to Alaska and scolded the upright, pioneering citizens of that great Territory for crusading in behalf of self-government. He has proposed a kind of twilight-zone plight for Alaska, half military reservation and half state-a sort of centaur, half man and half horse, but actually not a very adequate version of either.

It is my fervent hope that the Secretary of the Interior will profit by this counsel from the legislature of his home State and will become a strong and persistent backer of statehood for Alaska. He is the one person who needs to take heed the most of these memorials enacted by the Oregon State Legislature, a body still, incidentally, controlled by Mr. McKay's own political party, although with a majority greatly diminished by the 1954 Oregon elections.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The joint resolutions will be received and appropriately referred; and, under the rule, will be printed in the RECORD.

The joint resolutions presented by Mr. NEUBERGER were referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, as follows:

### Senate Joint Memorial 2

To the Honorable Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled:

We, your memorialists, the 48th Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon, in legislative session assembled, most respectfully represent as follows:

Whereas the security and economic welfare of Hawaii are essential to the well-being of the United States; and

Whereas inclusion in the Union as a sovereign State would strengthen the economy and social strength of Hawaii: and

Whereas many business, industrial, and labor groups in Oregon have worked unceasingly to develop increased trade and economic relations with Hawaii; and

Whereas the people of the Territory of Hawaii have demonstrated their loyalty to the Government of the United States, its traditions and teaching, and a readiness to achieve a status above and beyond that of an incorporated Territory; and Whereas numerable civic organizations in

Oregon have taken a public position favoring statehood for the great Territory of

Hawaii: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate of the State of Oregon (the House of Representatives jointly concurring therein). That we definitely go on record as urging early admission of Hawaii as a self-governing State of the Union; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this memorial be sent to the President of the United States, to the Secretary of the Interior, to all members of the Oregon congressional delegation, and to the Delegates in the National Congress from the Territory of Hawaii.

Adopted by the Senate January 13, 1955. ZYLPHA ZELL BURNS, Chief Clerk of Senate. ELMO E. SMITH, President of Senate.

Adopted by House February 1, 1955. E. A. GEARY, Speaker of House.

#### Senate Joint Memorial 1

To the Honorable Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled:

We, your memorialists, the 48th Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon, in legislative session assembled, most respectfully represent as follows:

Whereas the security and economic development of Alaska are essential to the well-being of the United States; and

Whereas inclusion in the Union as a sovereign State would strengthen the economy and social strength of Alaska; and

Whereas many business, industrial, and labor groups in Oregon have worked unceasingly to develop increased trade and economic relations with Alaska; and

Whereas numerous civic and business organizations in Oregon have taken a public position favoring statehood for the great Territory of Alaska; and

Whereas the people of the Territory of Alaska demonstrated their loyalty to the

Government of the United States, its tradition and teaching; and a readiness to achieve a status above and beyond that of an incorporated territory: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate of the State of Oregon (the House of Representatives jointly concurring therein). That we definitely go on record as urging early admission of Alaska as a self-governing State of the Union: and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this memorial be sent to the President of the United States, to the Secretary of the Interior, to all members of the Oregon congressional delegation, and to the Delegates in the National Congress from the Territory of Alaska.

Adopted by Senate January 13, 1955.

ZYLPHA ZELL BURNS,
Chief Clerk of Senate.

ELMO E. SMITH,
President of Senate.

Adopted by House February 1, 1955.
E. A. GEARY,
Speaker of House.

# EXECUTIVE REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, as in executive session, from the Committee on Armed Services I report favorably the nomination of Albert J. Hayes, of Maryland, to be a member of the National Security Training Commission for the remainder of the term expiring June 19, 1958, to which office he was appointed during the recess of the Senate to fill the vacancy created by the death of Dr. Compton, and ask that this nomination be placed on the Executive Calendar.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The nomination will be placed on the Executive Calendar.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for 2 minutes in order to make a statement on the nomination.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, the first Chairman of the National Security Training Commission was the late Hon. James W. Wadsworth. Therefore I have always had an interest in this Commission.

So it is with particular pleasure that I report favorably for the Armed Services Committee the name of an old friend, Mr. Albert J. Hayes, of Maryland, to be a member of the National Security Training Commission.

Mr. Hayes was born in Milwaukee, Wis. He has devoted most of his worthy life to the advancement and interests of labor, but at the same time his patriotic public services have earned the respect of people in all segments of our economy.

At the present time Mr. Hayes is International President of the International Association of Machinists.

The record of his union service is as follows: chairman, apprentice boys committee, Milwaukee railroad shops; member International Association of Machinists, president, IAM district 7, covering all machinists lodges on the Chicago & North Western Railway system; IAM grand lodge representative; general vice president of IAM; international president of IAM in 1949 and reelected in 1953; cochairman, United Labor Policy Committee and vice presi-

dent, American Federation of Labor, 1953.

Mr. Hayes also has a distinguished record of public service. He has been a member, 6th regional War Labor Board, Chicago, during World War II; Special Assistant on Manpower, Department of Defense, member, President's Comission on Health Needs of the Nation; trustee, National Planning Association and director, American Heart Association.

Mr. Hayes also is a member of the National Manpower Council of Columbia University; the Advisory Committee, Senate Banking and Currency Committee; Commisson on Labor-Management Manpower Policy, Office of Defense Mobilization; President's Committee on the Physically Handicapped; National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools; and the White House Conference on Education.

It was my privilege to know Mr. Hayes when I was Chairman of the National Security Resources Board. At that time he was a member of the Board's Advisory Committee.

All those who know this outstanding American are grateful for his willingness to continue his record of public service by accepting this Presidential appointment to the National Security Training Commission.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota subsequently said:

Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from South Dakota will state it.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. What is the status of the report on the nomination of Mr. Hayes, to be a member of the National Security Training Commission?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The nomination has been placed on the Executive Calendar.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. When is the nomination to be taken up?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. It could be taken up at the next session of the Senate.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. President, may I be recognized, then, for 2 minutes, to speak on the nomination?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the Senator from South Dakota may proceed.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. President, I have no objection to the nomination or to the confirmation of the nomination of Mr. Hayes, to be a member of the National Security Training Commission. I do, however, wish to bring to the attention of the Senate the fact that on the National Security Training Commission there is no representation by anyone who could remotely be considered as either connected with or having a basic understanding of the personnel and manpower problems in the agricultural sections of the country.

I recognize that, under the statute, the responsibilities of the National Security Training Commission are not connected with the selection of military personnel, but have to do with the training program after the men are selected or inducted.

However that may be, it seems to me important that any board or commission

which has to do with broad personnel or training policies should have a basic understanding and appreciation of manpower and personnel problems generally.

Mr. Hayes is definitely a career man in the field of labor. He understands manpower problems in the industrial field. Admiral Kinkaid understands the needs of the Defense Establishment from the standpoint of the Navy. General McLain, who represents the Army, understands the needs of the Military Establishment and the problems of manpower from the standpoint of the Army. Mr. Adler understands the manpower problems from the standpoint of business and of reservists who live in cities. Warren Atherton, a very distinguished member of the Commission, and a former national commander of the American Legion, understands the problems of business and professional men and the aims of the patriotic organizations. He is an attorney. If any one of the group might be suspected of having some understanding of manpower problems from an agricultural standpoint, both before, during, and after military service, it might be Mr. Atherton, because he happens to be a partner in the ownership of a 1,000acre asparagus farm in California. But none of them suggest any personal experience in the field of agriculture or rural economy.

I have called this matter to the attention of the Senate, Mr. President, because when the Armed Services Committee of the Senate takes up the developing of a training program and a Reserve program, I think we should endeavor to consider the seasonal needs of agriculture in planning those programs.

Furthermore, I certainly hope that as we proceed to develop a training program and a reserve program, we will not look merely to the industrial centers and to the large cities to obtain personnel for the nucleus of the Military Establishment. If that should be done in the case of officer procurement, it could mean that the officers of the Armed Forces would come entirely from the centers of large population. That would be unfortunate. In the Military Establishment we need a balanced personnel.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record at the conclusion of my remarks some biographical data on each of the members of the National Security Training Commission, assembled for me by the members of the staff of the Senate Committee on Armed Services.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. In there objection?

There being no objection, the biographical data were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA ON MEMBERS, NATIONAL SECURITY TRAINING COMMISSION

ALBERT J. HAYES, INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT, INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Union service: Chairman, apprentice boys committee, Milwaukee Railroad shops 1917–20.

Joined IAM Lodge, 234, Milwaukee in 1919.

Transferred to IAM Lodge, 1052 in 1923.

President, IAM, district 7, covering all machinists lodges on the Chicago & Northwestern Railroad system in 1924-34.

IAM grand lodge representative 1934-44.

General vice president of the IAM 1944-49. International president of the IAM 1949, reelected 1953.

Cochairman, United Labor Policy Com-

mittee 1950-51.

Vice president, American Federation of Labor 1953.

Public service: Member of the Sixth Regional War Labor Board, Chicago, during World War II.

Special Assistant on Manpower, Department of Defense 1950-51.

Member, President's Commission on Health Needs of the Nation, 1952.

Trustee, National Planning Association. Director, American Heart Association.

Member, National Manpower Council of Columbia University; Advisory Committee, Senate Banking and Currency Committee; Commission on Labor Management Man-power Policy, Office of Defense Mobilization; Committee on the Physically President's Handicapped; National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools; White House Conference on Education.

Personal: Born 1900, Milwaukee, Wis.; educated in Milwaukee elementary and high schools and extension division, University of Wisconsin; married, has 1 daughter, 4 grandchildren; Lutheran.

Affiliation: Eagles.

Hobbies: Fishing, hunting, baseball

#### WARREN HENDRY ATHERTON

Warren Hendry Atherton, veteran, attorney, farmer, civic leader, and outstanding American Legion official of Stockton, Calif., who served as national commander of the Legion in 1944, was appointed by President Eisenhower to the National Security Training Commission on August 1, 1953, to fill the unexpired term of the late James W. Wadsworth, the Commission's first Chairman. Mr. Atherton was reappointed to a 5-year term June 19, 1954.

A practicing lawyer since 1913, Mr. Atherton is a senior member of the law firm of Atherton & Dozier, Stockton, and is president of the Inland Harbor Storage Co. of that city. He also serves on the board of directors of the San Joaquin Building & Loan Association, and the Lincoln Properties, Inc., a large real-estate development corporation, and is owner of Atherton Island, a real-estate subdivision.

Mr. Atherton is a partner in a 1,000-acre asparagus and truck products ranch in the San Joaquin Delta and serves as special legal consultant to the Stockton port district.

Active in American Legion circles since 1919, when he joined as a charter member of the Karl Ross Post, No. 16, at Stockton, Commissioner Atherton came into national prominence as a legionnaire in 1933 when appointed a member of the organization's national Americanism commission, a post he held until 1936. Three years later he became national defense chairman, retiring from that assignment when elected national commander in 1943.

His Legion travels included many thousands of miles of on-the-spot inspections of American battlefields and installations in the United States, North Africa, Alaska, and, as national commander in 1944, of troops and advance bases in the Pacific.

Mr. Atherton has been general counsel for the department of veterans' affairs of the State of California since 1935. His public service includes 5 years as district attorney of Alpine County, 3 years as member of Cali-fornia State Board of Terms and paroles, and vice-chairman of the defense mobilization service committee of California.

During World War II Commissioner Atherton acted as special consultant to the Secretary of War and in 1944 visited 15 South American and Central American countries as a representative of the Coordinator of Inter-

a representative of the Commissioner American Affairs.

As a private in World War I, Commissioner Atherton served with the AEF in company D, 363d Infantry, 91st Division, later being

commissioned a first lieutenant in January 1918. He was promoted to captain in February 1919, and held that rank in the Infantry Reserve Corps for 16 years.

Following military service, Mr. Atherton was president of the San Joaquin County Bar Association, 1921; police judge at Stockton, 1920-25; president of the Kiwanis Club, 1924, and president of the Stockton Chamber of Commerce, 1933-35, in addition to other offices of civil and public trust.

Born December 28, 1891, at San Francisco. Mr. Atherton was graduated from Stockton Law School and admitted to the California bar January 8, 1913. He has 4 children, 3 being sons who all served in the Air Corps during World War II.

#### GEN. WALTER BEDELL SMITH, UNITED STATES ARMY (RETIRED)

Gen. Walter Bedell Smith was born in Indianapolis, Ind., on October 5, 1895, the son of William Long and Ida Frances (Bedell) Smith, and married Mary Eleanor Cline, also of Indianapolis.

He began his military career as a private in the Indiana National Guard in 1910 and retired from active service in the Army with the rank of general on January 31, 1953. entered Officers' Training Camp in 1917, was commissioned a second lieutenant in the Officers' Reserve Corps on November 27, 1917, served in France with the 4th Division in 1918, and was wounded in action.

Between World Wars I and II he filled various military assignments, including service in the top Army schools both as a student and as a teacher. In 1932 he graduated from the advanced course of the Infantry School, in 1935 from the Command and General Staff School, and in 1937 from the Army War College. He also served for 2 years in the Philippine Islands and 4 years with the United States Bureau of the Budget.

In 1939 General Smith was detailed to the General Staff Corps and assigned to the War Department General Staff in Washington, serving as Assistant Secretary and Secretary of the General Staff during the critical period between October 1939 and January 1942. In February 1942 he was appointed Secretary of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and United States Secretary of the Combined Chiefs of Staff in Washington.

In September 1942 General Smith became Chief of Staff of the European Theater of Operations, and shortly thereafter was appointed Chief of Staff to Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower in the north African theater. When the Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Forces was organized on January 1, 1944, General Smith was appointed Chief of Staff and served in this capacity until the end of the war. On behalf of the Supreme Commander, he negotiated and signed the instruments effecting the surrender of Italy and Germany.

In 1946 he was appointed Ambassador to the Soviet Union, remaining in a military status during this assignment. His resignation as Ambassador was accepted by the President on March 25, 1949. After returning from Moscow he served as commanding general of the United States First Army with headquarters on Governors Island in New York City, until October 1950, when he was appointed Director of Central Intelligence. He remained in that position until appointed Under Secretary of State in February 1953. He resigned from this position in October

General Smith is at present vice chairman of the American Machine & Foundry Co. and is president of American Heritage Foundation. He also serves as member of the board of directors of United Fruit and of Radio Corporation of America.

For services in both wars General Smith holds seven decorations from the United States as well as decorations from Great Britain, France, Netherlands, Belgium, Luxem-bourg, Brazil, Morocco, Tunisia, Poland,

U. S. S. R., Czechoslovakia, and Thailand. He has been awarded honorary degrees by a number of American and foreign universities.

ADM. THOMAS CASSIN KINKAID, UNITED STATES NAVY, RETIRED

Adm. Thomas Cassin Kinkaid, United States Navy, retired, was born April 3, 1888, at Hanover, N. H., the son of Thomas Wright and Virginia Lee Cassin Kinkaid.

Admiral Kinkaid was one of the original Commissioners on the National Security Training Commission, having been appointed

to a 5-year term on July 19, 1951.

His entire life has been devoted to the naval service which he undertook upon entering the United States Naval Academy, graduating in the class of 1908. He advanced to the rank of admiral, receiving that promotion in April 1945. Admiral Kinkaid retired from active duty on May 1, 1950, closing a career highlighted by many combat engagements against the Japanese, 1942-45.

Following is a brief résumé of Admiral Kinkaid's service career:

January-July 1932: Technical adviser to American delegation, General Disarmament Conference, Geneva, Switzerland.

November 1938-March 1941: Naval attaché. American Embassy, Rome.

March 1939-March 1941: Additional duty as naval attaché, Belgrade, Yugoslavia.

November 1941: Promoted to rear admiral. February 29, 1942: Commander, cruiser group action, off Bougainville.

March 10, 1942: Salamanca raid. May 4-8, 1942: Battle of Coral Set June 3-6, 1942: Battle of Midway.

August 7-9, 1942: Commander, Enterprise carrier group, Guadalcanal and Tulagi, Solomon Islands, for United States marine landings.

August 25, 1942: Battle of Eastern Solomon Islands.

October 26, 1942: Action at Santa Cruz Islands.

November 15, 1942: Action at Guadalcanal. January-October 1943: Commander, North Pacific Force, Aleutian campaign.

June 1943: Promoted to vice admiral. November 1943-September 1945: Commander, 7th Fleet, and commander, Allied Naval Forces, Southwest Pacific area

October 25, 1944: New Guinea and Philippine campaigns, including Battle of Leyte Gulf.

April 1945: Promoted to admiral.

September 1945: Landed 24th Corps in Korea and with Lieutenant General Hodge, took surrender of Japanese Army and Navy at Seoul, Korea; subsequently followed by landing United States marines under Maj. Gen. K. E. Rockey at Taku and Tsingtao, North China; later transported five Chinese armies from Haiphong, Kowloon, and Ningho to Formosa, Chingwantao and Tsingtao, north China.

November 19, 1945: Detached 7th Fleet. January 16, 1946: Commander, Eastern Sea May 1, 1950: Retired from active duty.

Admiral Kinkaid's decorations: Navy Distinguished Service Medal, with three gold

stars; Army Legion of Merit; Presidential citation; Victory Medal; Atlantic Clasp; American Defense Service Medal; Asiatic-Pacific Campaign Medal (10 battle stars); World War II Victory Medal; Companion Order of the Bath (British); Grand Officer Order Orange Nassau with swords (Netherlands); Army Distinguished Service Medal; Order Al Merito, Gran Official (Chilean); grand offi-cer, Order of Leopold with palm, Croix de guerre with palm (Belgium)

In addition, Admiral Kinkaid is a member of the American Battle Monuments Commission.

Admiral Kinkaid and his wife, the former Helen Sherburne Ross, reside at 2134 R Street NW., Washington, D. C. They were married April 25, 1911, 3 years after his graduation from the Naval Academy.

The admiral is a member of Chevy Chase Club and Army-Navy Club, Washington, D. C., and the Union Club of New York City.

#### MAJ. GEN. JULIUS OCHS ADLER

Maj. Gen. Julius Ochs Adler was appointed by the President as chairman of the National Security Training Commission on August 1, 1953.

General Adler was born in Chattanooga, Tenn., on December 3, 1892, the son of Harry Clay and Ada Ochs Adler. He was a student at Baylor University School, Chattanooga, and a graduate of Lawrenceville (N. J.) School, 1910 (valedictorian); A. B., Princeton University, 1914. He married Barbara Stettheimer on August 27, 1922; children: Julius Ochs, Jr., Barbara Squier, and Nancy Jean.

General Adler has been with the New York Times since 1914; first vice president, general manager and treasurer; also president and publisher, the Chattanooga Times; director, the New York Times Co.; Times Printing Co. (Chattanooga Times); Spruce Falls Power and Paper Co., Ltd., Toronto, Canada; vice chairman and director, Interstate Broadcasting Co., Inc., New York; chairman board of directors, Chattanooga Publishing Co.; vice president and director, Times Facsimile Corp.

He was civilian aide to Secretary of War, Second Corps Area, 1932-40; commissioned second lieutenant, cavalry, ORC, 1917; served continuously as Reserve officer advancing through grades to major general; World War I, 306th Infantry American Expeditionary Forces; World War II, 44th, 4th, and 6th Infantry Divisions; former commander 77th Infantry Division, USAR, retiring December 31, 1954, with rank of major general. His decorations include: Distinguished Service Cross, Silver Star with two Oakleaf Clusters, Order of Purple Heart, New York State Conspicuous Service Medal (both wars), Officer Legion d'Honneur, Crois de guerre with palm (France); Croce de guêrra (Italy); Legion of Merit, and Bronze Star Medal. A founder of Military Training Camps Association of the United States; chairman, executive committee, Military Training Camps Association of the United States, First Army Area; chairman, national emergency committee, Military Training Camps Association of the United States; president, 77th Division Association, 1945-46; chairman, Armed Forces Advisory Committee for Greater New York (since formation): (Byrnes Committee) Army Committee on Civilian Components, January 1919; president, Senior Reserve Commanders Association Army of the United States, 1949-52: member, Reserve Forces Policy Board (Department of Defense); Committee on the Present Danger; New York State Defense Council.

Honorary chairman, executive board, Greater New York Councils, Boy Scouts of America; president, Tennessee Society in New York, 1929–30; charter trustee, Princeton University; president, class of 1914, Princeton University, 1934–39; Daily Princetonian alumni award, 1939; alumna trustee at large, Princeton University, 1940–44; president, the Daily Princetonian, Inc.

Memberships: Institute of War and Peace Studies' Committee on Public Policy (Columbia University); advisory council, Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University; board of trustees, International House; board of trustees, National Jewish Hospital at Denver; board of trustees, Institute for the Crippled and Disabled; board of trustees, Grant Monument association; board of directors, American Newspaper Publishers Association; board of directors and treasurer, Bureau of Advertising; board of directors, Better Business Bureau of New York City, Inc.; board of directors, New York Convention and Visitors Bureau; New York City 300th anniversary celebration committee; board of directors, Lafayette Centennial Association.

Clubs: Princeton Club of New York; Advertising Club of New York; Century Country Club; Mountain City Club (Chattanooga, Tenn.).

Editor in chief, History of the 77th Division, AEF, 1919; editor, History of 306th Infantry, 1935.

Home: 2 East 67th Street, New York 21; office: The New York Times, 229 West 43d Street, New York 36.

### BILLS INTRODUCED

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. CLEMENTS (for Mr. SMATHERS); S. 1159. A bill for the relief of Wilma Ann Schilling and her daughter, Ingertraud Rosalita Schilling; to the Committee on the Judiciary

Judiciary.

By Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania (for himself, Mr. Chavez, and Mr. Case of South Dakota):

S. 1160. A bill to create a Federal Highway Corporation for financing the construction of the National System of Interstate Highways; to amend and supplement the Federal-Aid Road Act, approved July 11, 1916 (39 Stat. 355), as amended and supplemented; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Works.

(See the remarks of Mr. Case of South Dakota when the above bill was introduced, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. CASE of South Dakota: S. 1161. A bill to abolish the Fossil Cycad National Monument, South Dakota, and for other purposes; and

S. 1162. A bill authorizing the issuance of a patent-in-fee to Nellie V. Compton (nee Not Stampeded); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. BEALL (for himself, Mr. Mans-FIELD, Mr. NEELY, and Mr. PAYNE):

S. 1163. A bill to amend the District of Columbia Unemployment Compensation Act, as amended; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. BRICKER:

S. 1164. A bill to provide for the appointment of a district judge for the southern district of Ohio; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ELLENDER (by request):
S. 1165. A bill to amend the Federal Crop
Insurance Act, as amended;

S. 1166. A bill to amend section 6 of the act of August 30, 1890, as amended, and section 2 of the act of February 2, 1903, as amended; and

S. 1167. A bill to amend the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

### PROPOSED HIGHWAY LEGISLATION

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. President, today the President of the United States has sent to the Congress a special mesage on the subject of highways. The message of the President calls attention to the report submitted by the President's advisory committee on the national highway program, headed by Gen. Lucius D. Clay. I have in my hand a copy of a bill which has been drafted to carry out the recommendations of the so-called Clay committee, the President's advisory committee.

Now, on behalf of the senior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Martin] I introduce for appropriate reference that bill with the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. Chavez], the chairman of the Committee on Public Works, and myself as

cosponsors, in order that the specific recommendations of the Clay committee may be brought before the Senate Committee on Public Works. I do not think I can say, Mr. President, that the bill expresses the personal views of any of the Senators, because we have not had an opportunity to examine the proposal in detail. I think the Senator from New Mexico has some ideas he wishes to express in any highway legislation that may be reported. I belive the senior Senator from Pennsylvania has some ideas and I know that the junior Senator from South Dakota has some ideas of his own. Those ideas we shall each present in due course during the consideration of the bill in the committee. join, however in presenting this bill so that its bold and challenging concepts may be explored and fully considered.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 1160) to create a Federal highway corporation for financing the construction of the National System of Interstate Highways; to amend and supplement the Federal-Aid Road Act approved July 11, 1916 (39 Stat. 355), as amended and supplemented; and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. Martin of Pennsylvania (for himself, Mr. Chavez, and Mr. Case of South Dakota), was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Works.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota subsequently said: Mr. President, in connection with my previous remarks regarding the introduction of the highway bill, I should like to emphasize that the bill was introduced on behalf of the senior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Martin]; and the bill should appear in his name, with the names of the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. Chavez] and myself listed as cosponsors, under the statement I previously made.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, I joined with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. MARTIN] and the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. CASE] in the intro-duction of the bill. We have not had an opportunity to examine the bill itself but I believe when the President sends a message making a proposal that is in the interest of the country, it deserves to be introduced and to go before a committee for proper consideration. However, I do not wish any inference to be drawn, in any way, shape, or form, that because I have joined the Senator from Pennsylvania and the Senator from South Dakota I am in complete agreement with the proposals of the President. I have definite ideas with regard to the kind of highway legislation which should be enacted, and I wish to make it known at this particular time that I do not agree completely with the proposal of the President.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. President, in conclusion I may state that the views expressed by the Senator from New Mexico are shared to some extent by the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. MARTIN] and myself. We wish to have the proposed legislation brought before the committee. No one can predict what will come out of the committee's

deliberations, but it is a subject of the greatest importance. It proposes a system of national highways, is a courageous and bold measure, and deserves the careful consideration of the committee which I am sure it will have, first in the Subcommittee on Roads, headed by the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. Gore].

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, will the Senator from South Dakota yield?

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. I shall be glad to yield if I have time. Perhaps the Senator can speak on his own time.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, now that the administration bill has been intro-

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Will the Senator allow the Chair to have morning business completed, before speeches are made on this matter?

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I wish to make only a few brief remarks on the introduction of the bill, and I think I can speak within the prescribed limitation of time.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Tennessee may proceed.

Mr. GORE. Now that the administration bill has been introduced, the hearings before the Subcommittee on Roads will encompass the consideration of the bill, along with any other Federal highway bill which may be pending before the committee. The hearings will proceed tomorrow with representatives from the American Federation of Labor, the National Grange, and the American Farm Bureau testifying in accordance with their requests. A list of questions with respect to the bill, including the allocations to respective States, will be submitted to Secretary of Commerce Weeks, and he will be invited to appear to testify with respect to the administration bill as soon as he is ready to answer those questions.

NOTICE OF HEARING ON NOMINA-TION OF CHARLES NOAH SHEP-ARDSON TO BE A MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF GOVERNORS OF THE FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM

Mr. BRICKER. Mr. President, on behalf of the Subcommittee on Federal Reserve of the Committee on Banking and Currency, I desire to give notice that a public hearing has been scheduled for Friday, February 25, 1955, at 10:30 a. m., in room 301, Senate Office Building, upon the nomination of Charles Noah Shepardson, of Texas, to be a member of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System for the remainder of the term of 14 years from February 1, 1954, vice Paul Emmert Miller, deceased. At the time and place all persons interested in the nomination may make such representations as may be pertinent.

### VISIT TO THE SENATE BY MISS SUSAN BALL

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, today there is seated in the visitors' gallery a young lady to whom I wish to pay tribute. I wish to do so for a very particular reason. She is still a young women, but in her years she has experi-

enced triumph, despair, and a faith that should stand as an example of high courage and constancy of purpose to people young and old throughout the length of this land. She is of the stamina that has made this country great.

The young lady to whom I am referring was born in Buffalo, in my State of New York. Even as a girl she was outstanding in her achievements and determined in her ambition for the future. falteringly she began in early days to carve for herself a career as an actress. With each advance the path ahead loomed more and more promising. When she had scarcely attained maturity this young lady was standing on the threshold of bright success. She was looking forward to happy womanhood as she planned the day of her marriage. Then, without warning, the world seemed to fall apart about her. She was stricken with a crippling affliction that threatened not only to tear down the goal she had so patiently, earnestly, and devotedly pursued, but to strike down her very life.

But a great heart beat anxiously through tortured weeks and months, and that great heart persevered through pain and suffering that would have ended the hopes of a less brave and determined person.

It is for this reason that I wish to honor Miss Susan Ball, a splendid motion picture actress, representing her fine industry. Her brave example should be an inspiration to millions of handicapped people and stimulate them to renewed courage and faith.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Miss Ball be invited to stand where she is seated in the gallery so that the Senate may salute her.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ELLENDER in the chair). Without objection, the invitation is extended to Miss Ball.

Miss Ball stood at her seat in the gallery. [Applause, Senators rising.]

The PRESIDING OFFICER. We are glad to have Miss Ball present.

#### ADJOURNMENT

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, I move that the Senate now stand adjourned until tomorrow, at noon.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 1 o'clock and 16 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, February 23, 1955, at 12 o'clock meridian.

# HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 22, 1955

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Reverend B. B. Comer Lile, rector of Christ Church, Alexandria, Va., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, who hast given us this good land for our heritage, we humbly beseech Thee that we may always prove ourselves a people mindful of Thy favor and glad to do Thy will. Bless each and every Member of the House of Representatives here assembled. Guide and

protect them in their labor and in their deliberations and grant that in all their work begun, continued, and ended in Thee, they may glorify Thy holy name. Bless our land with honorable industry, sound learning, and pure manners. Endue with the spirit of wisdom all of those to whom in Thy name we entrust the authority of government, that there may be justice and peace at home, and that, through obedience to Thy law, we may show forth Thy praise among the nations of the earth. In the time of prosperity, fill our hearts with thankfulness, and in the day of trouble, suffer not our trust in Thee to fail; all of which we ask through Jesus Christ our Lord.

The Journal of the proceedings of Friday, February 18, 1955, was read and approved.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the House by Mr. Hawks, one of his secretaries.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Carrell, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed bills and a concurrent resolution of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 456, An act relating to the regulation of nets in Alaska waters;

S. 913. An act to eliminate the need for renewal of oaths of office upon change of status of employees of the Senate; and

S. Con. Res. 9. Concurrent resolution to print for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary additional copies of certain parts of the hearings on Interlocking Subversion in Government Departments.

# COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

The SPEAKER. The Chair will recognize at this time only the gentleman from Tennessee, under the circumstances.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Ways and Means may have until midnight tonight to file a report on the bill H. R. 4259, and that the same length of time be allowed for the filing of minority or individual views on this bill.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, what is the bill about which the gentleman makes this request?

Mr. COOPER. It is a bill to extend the corporation and excise taxes, as requested by the President of the United States.

Mr. GROSS, Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, and I shall not, I was wondering if the gentleman might tell us whether he contemplates bringing this bill up for consideration Thursday?

Mr. COOPER. As the gentleman well knows, after the committee reports a bill it is up to the leadership of the House as to when it comes up. Mr. ARENDS. My thought was to secure information for some of our Members on each side who may not be here today.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield, I may say that if a rule is reported, which is hoped for and expected, it will come up on Thursday.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Tennessee?

There was no objection.

### GEORGE WASHINGTON'S FARE-WELL ADDRESS

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the order of the House of February 2, 1955, the Chair recognizes the gentleman from Florida [Mr. CRAMER] to read George Washington's Farewell Address.

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, it is with humble heart and sincere gratitude that I accept, on behalf of this House and the great State of Florida, this high honor.

To the people of the United States:

FRIENDS AND FELLOW CITIZENS: The period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those, out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken, without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence. impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say that I have, with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience, in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and, every day, the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe that. while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment which is to terminate the career of my political life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging-in situations in which not unfrequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism—the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans, by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this irea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence—that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual-that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained—that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue-that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these states, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete by so careful a preservation, and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present,

to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence; the support of your tranquility at home; your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee that, from different causes and from different quarters much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth, as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed; it is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can, in any event, be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth, or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of American, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits. and political principles. You have, in a common cause, fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess, are the work of joint counsels, and joint efforts, of common dangers, suffering, and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they addressed themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest.—Here, every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The north, in an unrestrained intercourse with the south, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry.-The south in the same intercourse, benefiting by the same agency of the north, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the north, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation. it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is un-equally adapted. The east, in a like intercourse with the west, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad or manufactures at home The west derives from the east supplies requisite to its growth and comfort-and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions, to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as one nation. Any other tenure by which the west can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength; or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While then every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts, greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and, what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union, an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalship alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues, would stimulate and embitter. Hence likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which under any form of government are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty. In this sense it is, that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind and exhibit the continuance of the union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respec-

tive subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who, in any quarter, may endeavor to weaken its hands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs as matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations,-northern and southern-Atlantic and western; whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart burnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head; they have seen, in the negotiation by the executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the senate of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at the event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the general government and in the Atlantic states, unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi. They have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain and that with Spain, which secure to them everything they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the union by which they were procured? will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such they are, who would sever them from their brethren and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute: they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances, in all times, have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of government, better calculated than your former, for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and maintaining within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government.—But the constitution which at any time exists, until changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power, and the right of the people to establish government, presuppose the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws all combinations and associations under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberations and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency.—They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force, to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation the will of party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties. to make the public administration the mirror of the ill concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common councils, and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men, will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your government and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only, that you steadily discountenance irregular opposition to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretext. One method of assault may be to effect in the forms of the constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system; and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be involved, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments, as of other human institutions:-that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country:-that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion: and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of common interests in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with particular references to the founding them on geographical discrimination. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind.—It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissension. which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities. is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and, sooner or later, the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purpose of his own elevation on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind, (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit or party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils, and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another; foments occasional riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which finds a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This within certain limits is probably true; and in governments of a monarchial cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent it bursting into a flame, lest instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution in those intrusted with its administration, to confine themselves

within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department, to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power and proneness to abuse it which predominate in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power. by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasion of the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern; some of them in our country and under our own eyes.-To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect, that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

It is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule, indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible, avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering, also, that timely disbursements, to prepare for danger, frequently prevent much greater disbursements to

repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions, in time of peace, to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should cooperate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue: that to have revenue there must be taxes, that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper object (which is always a choice of difficulties), ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it. and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue, which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct, and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt but, in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it; can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence, frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government some-times participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility, instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace

often, sometimes perhaps the liberty of nations, has been the victim.

So likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducements or justifications. It leads also to concessions, to the favorite nation, of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions, by unnecessary parting with what ought to have been retained, and by exciting jealousy, ill will, and a disposition to retaliate in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld: and it gives to ambitious, corrupted or deluded citizens who devote themselves to the favorite nation, facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils!—Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence. (I conjure you to believe me fellow citizens,) the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove, that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial, else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defense against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation and excessive dislike for another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interest.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little *political* connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith: Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence, she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our con-

cerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collusions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation, when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor, or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliance with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But in my opinion, it is unnecessary, and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, and a liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them, conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied as experience and circumstances shall dictate: constantly keeping in view, that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations, but if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare by which they have been dictated.

How far, in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have, at least, believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe; my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your representatives in both houses of congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest, to take a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance, and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe that, according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress, without interruption, to that degree of strength, and consistency which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope

that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations; I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat in which I promise myself to realize without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government—the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors and dangers.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES, 17th September, 1796.

## THE NATION'S HIGHWAY SYSTEM (H. DOC. NO. 93)

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, together with accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Public Works and ordered to be printed:

To the Congress of the United States:

Our unity as a Nation is sustained by free communication of thought and by easy transportation of people and goods. The ceaseless flow of information throughout the Republic is matched by individual and commercial movement over a vast system of interconnected highways criss-crossing the country and joining at our national borders with friendly neighbors to the north and south.

Together, the uniting forces of our communication and transportation systems are dynamic elements in the very name we bear-United States. Without them, we would be a mere alliance of many separate parts.

The Nation's highway system is a gigantic enterprise, one of our largest items of capital investment. Generations have gone into its building. Three million, three hundred and sixty-six thousand miles of road, traveled by 58 million motor vehicles, comprise it. replacement cost of its drainage and bridge and tunnel works is incalculable. One in every seven Americans gains his livelihood and supports his family out of it. But, in large part, the network is inadequate for the Nation's growing needs.

In recognition of this, the governors in July of last year at my request began a study of both the problem and methods by which the Federal Government might assist the States in its solution. I appointed in September the President's Advisory Committee on a National Highway Program, headed by Lucius D. Clay. to work with the governors and to propose a plan of action for submission to the Congress. At the same time, a committee representing departments and

agencies of the National Government was organized to conduct studies coordinated with the other two groups.

All three were confronted with inescapable evidence that action, comprehensive and quick and forward-looking, is needed.

First. Each year, more than 36,000 people are killed and more than a million injured on the highways. To the home where the tragic aftermath of an accident on an unsafe road is a gap in the family circle, the monetary worth of preventing that death cannot be reckoned. But reliable estimates place the measurable economic cost of the highway accident toll to the Nation at more

than \$4.3 billion a year.

Second. The physical condition of the present road net increases the cost of vehicle operation, according to many estimates, by as much as 1 cent per mile of vehicle travel. At the present rate of travel, this totals more than \$5 billion a year. The cost is not borne by the individual vehicle operator alone. It pyramids into higher expense of doing the Nation's business. Increased highway transportation costs, passed on through each step in the distribution of goods, are paid ultimately by the individual consumer.

Third. In case of an atomic attack on our key cities, the road net must permit quick evacuation of target areas, mobilization of defense forces and maintenance of every essential economic function. But the present system in critical areas would be the breeder of a deadly congestion within hours of an attack.

Fourth. Our gross national product, about \$357 billion in 1954, is estimated to reach over \$500 billion in 1965, when our population will exceed 180 million and, according to other estimates, will travel in 81 million vehicles 814 billion vehicle-miles that year. Unless the present rate of highway improvement and development is increased, existing traffic jams only faintly foreshadow

those of 10 years hence.

To correct these deficiencies is an obligation of Government at every level. The highway system is a public enterprise. As the owner and operator, the various levels of Government have a responsibility for management that promotes the economy of the Nation and properly serves the individual user. In the case of the Federal Government, moreover, expenditures on a highway program are a return to the highway user of the taxes which he pays in connection with his use of the highways.

Congress has recognized the national interest in the principal roads by authorizing two Federal-aid systems, selected cooperatively by the States, local units, and the Bureau of Public Roads.

The Federal-aid primary system as of July 1, 1954, consisted of 234,407 miles. connecting all the principal cities, county seats, ports, manufacturing areas, and other traffic-generating centers.

In 1944 the Congress approved the Federal-aid secondary system, which on July 1, 1954, totaled 482,972 miles, referred to as farm-to-market roads—important feeders linking farms, factories. distribution outlets, and smaller communities with the primary system.

Because some sections of the primary system, from the viewpoint of national interest, are more important than others. the Congress in 1944 authorized the selection of a special network, not to exceed 40,000 miles in length, which would connect by routes, as direct as practicable, the principal metropolitan areas, cities, and industrial centers, serve the national defense, and connect with routes of continental importance in the Dominion of Canada and the Republic of Mexico.

This national system of interstate highways, although it embraces only 1.2 percent of total road mileage, joins 42 State capital cities and 90 percent of all cities over 50,000 population. carries more than a seventh of all traffic. a fifth of the rural traffic, serves 65 percent of the urban and 45 percent of the rural population. Approximately 37,600 miles have been designated to date. This system and its mileage are presently included within the Federal-aid primary system.

In addition to these systems, the Federal Government has the principal, and in many cases the sole, responsibility for roads that cross or provide access to federally owned land-more than one-

fifth the Nation's area.

Of all these the interstate system must be given top priority in construction planning. But at the current rate of development the interstate network would not reach even a reasonable level of extent and efficiency in half a century. State highway departments cannot effectively meet the need. Adequate right-of-way to assure control of access. grade separation structures, relocation and realinement of present highwaysall these, done on the necessary scale within an integrated system, exceed their collective capacity.

If we have a congested and unsafe and inadequate system, how then can we improve it so that 10 years from now it will be fitted to the Nation's requirements?

A realistic answer must be based on a study of all phases of highway financing. including a study of the costs of completing the several systems of highways, made by the Bureau of Public Roads in cooperation with the State highway departments and local units of government. This study, made at the direction of the 83d Congress in the 1954 Federal Aid Highway Act, is the most comprehensive of its kind ever undertaken.

Its estimates of need show that a 10year construction program to modernize all our roads and streets will require expenditure of \$101 billion by all levels of government.

The preliminary 10-year totals of needs by road systems are:

Interstate (urban \$11, rural \$12 billion) \_ \$23 Federal-aid primary (urban \$10, rural \$20 billion)\_ Federal-aid secondary (entirely rural)\_

Subtotal of Federal-aid systems (urban \$21, rural \$47 billion). Other roads and streets (urban \$16, rural \$17 billion)\_\_\_\_\_ 33

> Total of needs (urban \$37, rural \$64 billion)\_\_\_\_\_

The governors' conference and the President's advisory committee are agreed that the Federal share of the needed construction program should be about 30 percent of the total, leaving to State and local units responsibility to finance the remainder.

The obvious responsibility to be accepted by the Federal Government, in addition to the existing Federal interest in our 3,366,000-mile network of highways, is the development of the interstate system, with its most essential urban arterial connections.

In its report, the advisory committee recommends:

1. That the Federal Government assume principal responsibility for the cost of a modern interstate network to be completed by 1964 to include the most essential urban arterial connections; at an annual average cost of \$2.5 billion for the 10-year period.

2. That Federal contributions to primary and secondary road systems, now at the rate authorized by the 1954 act of approximately \$525 million annually, be

continued.

 That Federal funds for that portion of the Federal-aid systems in urban areas not on the interstate system, now approximately \$75 million annually, be continued.

4. That Federal funds for forest highways be continued at the present \$22.5-

million-per-year rate.

Under these proposals, the total Federal expenditures through the 10-year period would be:

31, 225

The extension of necessary highways in the Territories and highway maintenance and improvement in national parks, on Indian lands, and on other public lands of the United States will continue to be treated in the budget for these particular subjects.

A sound Federal highway program, I believe, can and should stand on its own feet, with highway users providing the total dollars necessary for improvement and new construction. Financing of interstate and Federal-aid systems should be based on the planned use of increasing revenues from present gas and dieseloil tanks, augmented in limited instances with tolls.

I am inclined to the view that it is sounder to finance this program by special bond issues, to be paid off by the above-mentioned revenues which will be collected during the useful life of the roads and pledged to this purpose, rather than by an increase in general revenue obligations.

At this time, I am forwarding for use by the Congress in its deliberations the report to the President made by the President's Advisory Committee on a National Highway Program. This study of the entire highway traffic problem and presentation of a detailed solution for its remedy is an analytical review of the major elements in a most complex situa-

tion. In addition, the Congress will have available the study made by the Bureau of Public Roads at the direction of the 83d Congress.

These two documents together constitute a most exhaustive examination of the national highway system, its problems, and their remedies. Inescapably, the vastness of the highway enterprise fosters varieties of proposals which must be resolved into a national highway pattern. The two reports, however, should generate recognition of the urgency that presses upon us; approval of a general program that will give us a modern, safe highway system; realization of the rewards for prompt and comprehensive action. They provide a solid foundation for a sound program.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER.
THE WHITE HOUSE, February 22, 1955.

### COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Mr. SMITH of Virginia (on behalf of Mr. Madden), from the Committee on Rules, reported the following privileged resolution (H. Res. 91, Rept. No. 64), which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed:

Resolved, That the Committee on Foreign Affairs, acting as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized and directed to conduct thorough studies and investigations of all matters coming within the jurisdiction of such committee.

SEC. 2. For the purposes of this resolution, the committee, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to hold such hearings, to sit and act during the present Congress at such times and places as the committee may determine, whether or not the House is in session, has recessed, or has adjourned, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents by subpena or otherwise, and to take testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee and shall be served by any person designated by such chairman. The chairman of the committee or any member designated by him may administer oaths to witnesses.

With the following committee amendment:

Strike out all after the revolving clause and in lieu thereof insert the following: "That effective from January 3, 1955, the Committee on Foreign Affairs, acting as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized and directed to conduct a full and complete investigation and study of all matters—

"(1) relating to the laws, regulations, directives, and policies including personnel pertaining to the Department of State and such other departments and agencies engaged primarily in the implementation of United States foreign policy and the overseas operation, personnel, and facilities of departments and agencies of the United States which participate in the development and execution of such policy;
"(2) relating to the carrying out of pro-

"(2) relating to the carrying out of programs and operations authorized by the Mutual Security Act and to other laws and measures to promote the foreign policy of

the United States;

"(3) relating to activities and programs of international organizations in which the United States participates;

"(4) relating to the effectiveness of United States programs of assistance and informa-

tion;
"(5) relating to legislation within the jurisdiction of the Committee on Foreign Affairs

pursuant to provisions of rule XI of the Rules of the House of Representatives.

"Provided, That the committee shall not undertake any investigation of any subject matter which is being investigated by any other standing committee of the House.

"The committee shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) as soon as practicable during the present Congress the results of its investigation and study, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

"For the purpose of carrying out this resocommittee or subcommittee is lution the authorized to sit and act during the present Congress at such times and places within or outside the United States, whether the House is in session, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, and to require, by subpena or otherwise, the attendance and testimony of such witnesses and the production of such books, records, correspondence, memoranda, papers, and documents, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any member of the committee designated by him, and may be served by any person designated by such chairman or

Amend the title to read as follows: "Resolution authorizing the Committee on Foreign Affairs to conduct a full and complete investigation of matters relating to the laws, regulations, directives, and policies including personnel pertaining to the Department of State and such other departments and agencies engaged primarily in the implementation of United States foreign policy and the overseas operations, personnel, and facilities of departments and agencies of the United States which participate in the development and execution of such policy."

# COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

Mr. SMITH of Virginia (on behalf of Mr. TRIMBLE), from the Committee on Rules, reported the following privileged resolution (H. Res. 105, Rept. No. 65), which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed:

Resolved, That effective from January 5. 1955, the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce may make such investigations and studies as it deems advisable with respect to any matter within its jurisdiction. For the purposes of such investigations and studies the committee, or any subcommittee thereof, may sit and act during the present Congress at such times and places within or outside the United States, whether the House is in session, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, and to require, by subpena or otherwise, the attendance and testimony of such witnesses and the production of such books, records, correspondence, memoranda, papers, and documents, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any member of the committee designated by him, and may be served by any person designated by such chairman or member.

The committee may report to the House at any time during the present Congress the results of any investigation or study made under authority of this resolution, together with such recommendations as it deems appropriate. Any such report shall be filed with the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session.

With the following committee amendment:

Strike out all after the resolving clause and in lieu thereof insert the following: "That effective from January 3, 1955, the

Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce may make investigations and studies into the following matters within its jurisdiction:

"(1) the competition among the various modes of transportation, whether rail, air, motor, water, or pipeline; the preservation of the inherent advantages of each mode of transportation; expedition of the operations of the regulatory bodies; the adequacy of the national transportation system for defense and for the expanding needs of our

growing economy;
"(2) the allocation of channels to radio and television stations; educational tele-vision; subscription and theater television; the admi. istration by the Federal Communications Commission of the statutes which it

administers:

(3) the treatment of nonscheduled and feeder airline carriers; improvements to air safety; the restrictions placed on American air carriers which impede the free flow of commerce; rates and continuance of subsidy payments; airport construction, and hazards of adjacency to airports; condemnation of air space; aircraft and airline liability;

"(4) the adequacy of the protection to investors afforded by the disclosure provisions of the Securities Acts measured in terms of the purposes intended and the practice in distribution and underwriting; the adequacy of the protection to investors in investment companies; the adequacy of the current protection to customers of broker-dealers: the expediting of the liquidation of the work under the Public Utility Holding Company Act in the simplification and integration of utility holding companies;

"(5) the availability and adequacy of petroleum, natural gas, and electric energy resources for defense and the expanding needs of our growing economy; the development of synthetic liquid fuel processes; the expedit-

ing of rate cases;
"(6) advertising generally, fair competition, and the administration of such statutes administered by the Federal Trade Commis-

"(7) research in weather, including air pollution and smog; artificially induced weath-

er, and the sovereignty of a cloud;
"(8) the effects of inflation upon the benefits provided under railroad retirement and railroad unemployment provisions; inequities in provisions of the statutes relating thereto, with comparison of benefits under the Social Security System; and the operations of the Railroad Retirement Board;

"(9) provision for medical care: the adequacy of supply of hospitals, treatment centers, nursing homes, medical personnel, and medical teaching facilities; research into human disease; the operations of the Public Health Service, and of the Food and Drug Administration:

"(10) research in the basic sciences being undertaken by the National Science Foundation:

"(11) disposition of funds arising from the operation of the Trading With the Enemy

Act; "(12) the current and prospective consumption of newsprint and other papers used in the printing of newspapers, magazines, or such other publications as are admitted to second-class mailing privileges; the current and prospective production and supply of such papers, factors affecting such produc-tion and supply, and possibilities of additional production through the use of alter-

nate source materials.
"Provided, That the committee shall not undertake any investigation of any subject which is being investigated by any other standing committee of the House.

"For the purposes of such investigations and studies the committee, or any subcommittee thereof, may sit and act during the present Congress at such times and places within or outside the United States, whether the House is in session, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, and to require, by subpena or otherwise, the attendance and testimony of such witnesses and the production of such books, records, correspondence, memoranda, papers, and docu-ments, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any member of the committee designated by him, and may be served by any person designated by such chairman or member.

"The committee may report to the House at any time during the present Congress the results of any investigation or study made under authority of this resolution, together with such recommendations as it deems appropriate. Any such report shall be filed with the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session."

Amend the title to read as follows: "Resolution to authorize the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce to conduct investigations and studies with respect to certain matters within its jurisdiction.'

### CALENDAR WEDNESDAY

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that business in order on Calendar Wednesday this week may be dispensed with.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mas-

sachusetts?

There was no objection.

# **OPERATION INTIMIDATION**

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. WALTER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, the Committee on Un-American Activities was to hold its first hearing of this Congress. The hearing was sched-uled for Fort Wayne, Ind. Witnesses were to include individuals whose Communist activities, over many years, were detrimental to their country and their fellow men. These individuals are leaders of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America, a labor union which was expelled from the CIO.

On Thursday of this week, this union is engaged in a bargaining electionalong with the IUE-CIO and the UAW-AFL-among the employees of the Fort Wayne, Ind., plant of Magnavox Corp. The fact that this election is scheduled had little to do with our hearing. In fact, in calling this hearing we were completing some of the committee's unfinished business. However, with the announce-ment of the hearing, members of the committee and Members of the House were bombarded with telegrams and letters demanding that the hearing be canceled. At the request of the UE, I have agreed, not to cancel these hearings, but to postpone them for 1 week, until Feb-

ruary 28. This postponement was agreed to very reluctantly, and only after it was feared that false and malicious charges made against the committee by the UE might result in this Communist-dominated union continuing as the bargaining agent in the vital defense plant.

Magnavox, in the Fort Wayne plant, has defense contracts classified as high as "secret" and 95 percent of the production of the plant is under defense contracts. Many weapons of defense, used by the Army, Navy, and Air Force, could not operate without electronic controls made exclusively at this plant.

I sincerely hope that by the time the hearing is called to order next Monday, the people at Magnavox will have representing them a union which holds the welfare and safety of the Nation with the same high regard as they do the worker, rather than the union which has, since its inception, had as its No. I objective the protection of the Communist Party of the United States and members of the Community Party.

With respect to the telegrams which many of us received, demanding that this hearing be canceled, I wish to call the attention of the House to a publication which I hold in my hand, titled "Operation Intimidation." It is a publication of the UE. It is a booklet properly named because it tells the Communist leaders of UE how to carry out a program of intimidation against the Congress, the Committee on Un-American Activities, and its members.

This booklet could well have a subtitle such as "False Witness," the title of the forthcoming book by Matusow. Like Matusow's book, it was prepared under the direction of the Communist Party and tells only the story which the Communist Party wants told; namely, a story which helps protect the members of the Communist Party and thereby the Communist Party itself. As Matusow's book attempts to make Americans skeptical of the testimony of all former Communists, the UE booklet attempts to sell the American worker on a theory that, when a Communist is subpensed before the committee and he happens to hold a union position, the committee is attacking the labor movement.

The committee and the Congress are not alone portrayed as playing this role. Dealing with the 1952 hearings of the committee in Detroit, Mich., the booklet states:

The main result of the hearings in Detroit is that 60,000 workers were deprived of their legally elected representatives through the teamwork of a congressional committee headed by a poll tax Congressman [Wood], a powerful profiteering company [Ford] and a labor leader [Reuther] who betrays his own membership.

The 60,000 workers are those belonging to Local 600, UAW. But why should the UE be concerned with this UAW local? Because it is controlled by a socalled "progressive" group of officers over whom the Communist Party exercises much control. The UE also defends the officers of Local 600, UAW, because this CIO local union has been used to attack the CIO and support the UE during bargaining elections between the UE and

CIO unions, such as the IUE and the UAW itself.

Under a subsection, "How to Fight the Committees," there are these instruc-

The key to a successful fight against such a committee lies in preparation and organization.

Usually there is advance notice of a committee coming to town, ranging from several days to several weeks. Immediately union leadership should start a campaign to acquaint both membership and the community with the nature and record of that particular committee.

There should be a single center for the fight, possibly a citizens' committee on civil rights, or a united labor committee, or a single local of a union which can issue statements and be the source of the publicity against the witch-hunters.

The first step is simply to inform the union membership and the community that the witch-hunters are coming. Radio spots of 1 minute each, or half a minute, constantly repeated day in and day out, with a catch slogan are very effective.

Carrying out these instructions to the last detail, this Communist group went into action as soon as it was announced that hearings were to be held in Fort Wayne. Immediately telegrams were dispatched from all UE locals in the Fort Wayne area. They were also dispatched from other UE and Communist-dominated unions scattered throughout the United States.

The first I received was from John T Gojack, president of district 9, UE, and a vice president of the international union. The same John T. Gojack who is under subpena to appear before the committee. The same individual who, at the same time, sent a telegram to the Speaker of the House of Representatives calling for an investigation of me and of the Committee on Un-American Activities.

This telegram to me was sent not to register a protest with the committeeas a matter of fact, Gojack did not care if we ever received or read it-but, rather, in order that they have something to file with the newspapers, press services, and radio newscasters. Gojack knew that only through the means of a telegram could he get free press coverage of a smear upon the committee. The telegrams gave him an opportunity to confuse the workers through such false charges as that the committee is a union-busting instrument of the Magnavox Co. In sending the telegrams. Gojack and company were carrying out the instructions which I quoted from the

Gojack's telegram of February 10 accuses the committee of assisting the Magnavox Co. in its efforts to destroy union representation among its employees. The telegram states that Magnavox, aided by the CIO, AFL, and the committee, "is seeking to oust UE so that seniority rights, higher wages, and other contractual gains under UE can be abolished."

Mr. Speaker, how far from the truth will the Communists stray to deceive the honest, patriotic worker? The truth on these points is that, after the election which will be held Thursday, the Magnavox workers will be represented by a

union, and further that, under the CIO or AFL, not only will the seniority rights and higher wages not be abolished, but rather the seniority rights will be stronger and the wages higher than they are

Mr. Speaker, the UE does not fool me as they do the workers and, along this line, I charge the UE with making deals with industry to the detriment of the workers in order that industry not put its support behind the CIO and AFL in ridding the labor movement of this Moscow conspiracy.

To support his attack upon the committee, and following the guide set forth in the booklet, Gojack uses a statement of the late Cardinal Mundelein and an editorial which appeared in the Detroit Free Press. He takes advantage of 17 years to support his position. Cardinal Mundelein's remarks were against what this great Catholic leader considered to be irresponsible acts by the Dies committee. His statement was contained in the publication of the Chicago diocese New World of December 2, 1938. The Detroit Free Press editorial was published October 27, 1947.

Gojack could have quoted from the remarks of many great Americans who have, from time to time, objected to phases of the work conducted by the committee. Many Members of this body condemned the subpenaing of former President Harry Truman by the committee last Congress. They could have quoted my condemnation of that act.

Nowhere in this document does the UE advise the workers of the truth of their operations on behalf of the Communist Party. Examples of their treachery have been documented over the years, not only by Government agencies and congressional committees, but by the Congress of Industrial Organizations itself.

Why does not the UE tell the worker of the statements contained in the resolution adopted by the CIO at its convention in Cleveland, Ohio, on November 2, 1949?-

Now, therefore, be it Resolved. That-

1. This convention finds that the certificate of affiliation heretofore granted to the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America has fallen into the control of a group devoted primarly to the principles of the Communist Party and opposed to the constitution and democratic objectives of the CIO, and in particular to the following declaration in the preamble of

the constitution of the CIO:

"In the achievement of this task we turn to the people because we have faith in them; and we oppose all those who would violate this American emphasis of respect for human dignity, all those who would use power to exploit people in the interest alien loyalties"; and, in conformance with the provisions of article III, section 6, of our constitution, this convention hereby expels the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America from the Congress of Industrial Organizations and with-draws the said certificate of affiliation.

2. This convention recognizes that the overwhelming majority of the membership of the United Electrical, Radio, and Ma-chine Workers of America are not members of the Communist Party, and further recog-nizes the desire of the working men and women in the electrical and allied industries for a free and autonomous union affiliated with the CIO and devoted to the constitutional principles and policies of the CIO.

3. This convention hereby authorizes and directs the executive board immediately to issue a certificate of affiliation to a suitable organization covering electrical and allied workers which will genuinely represent the desires and interests of the men and women

in those industries.

4. This convention calls upon the working men and women in the electrical and allied industries to join in the building of a strong. autonomous union affiliated with the CIO that will fight on a sound trade-union basis for the interests of its members as workers and American citizens and which will join wholeheartedly with the CIO in its struggle to obtain the benefits of collective bargaining, including higher wages and better working conditions, to safeguard the economic security and promote the social welfare of the workers of America, and to protect and extend our democratic institutions and civil rights and liberties.

5. This convention calls upon all the affiliates of the CIO to support with all their strength the determination of the electrical workers to free themselves from Communist domination and to create a strong, aggressive, and democratic union affiliated with the

CIO

With the full support of the CIO, the organized workers in the electrical and allied industries will win their campaign for freedom from the degradation of automatic obedience to a foreign dictatorship.

A victory here for democratic unionism will strengthen the constant drive of all American labor against economic monoply and against all those forces which would deny to American working men and women the economic security and the democratic liberties which belong to all Americans.

We salute the rank and file members of the UERMWA as the way is opened for them to walk out of the shadows of Communist conspiracy, doubletalk, division, and betrayal, into the sunlight of democracy to be enjoyed in the CIO and cherish and make equally available to all men and women who prize freedom, honesty, and loyalty to their ideals and their union brothers and sisters.

In this cause and with this faith, we of the family of CIO shall defeat our open and our secret enemies; we shall grow stronger in numbers and in moral stature. Thereby the mission of the CIO, as stated at its founding, shall be realized in happy men and women, secure in their jobs, in their homes, and in their trust in one another.

AGRICULTURE DEPARTMENT AP-PEARS POISED TO STRIKE THE SOYBEAN FARMER THIS TIME

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, it appears that the Department of Agriculture is poised to strike again, and this time the victim will be the farmers of the South who produce soybeans, at least those who have been producing a variety of soybeans known as the Ogden.

I am today placing in the Congres-SIONAL RECORD 2 extensions of remarks dealing with this subject, 1 containing a letter expressing the views of the Midsouth Soybean & Grain Shippers Association opposing the proposed revisions of the soybean standards, as announced by Mr. Barr of the Grain Standards Branch of the United States Department of Agriculture, and the other extension including an article from a newspaper setting forth some of the highlights of a hearing held at Memphis when it was revealed that not a single person appeared in support of the Department's contemplated action. In fact, every one of the approximately 300 persons in attendance, including farmerproducers, elevator operators, warehousemen, processors, shippers, brokers, terminal operators, and exporters, indicated their opposition to the proposed action of the Department.

I would like now to read from a letter written by a friend of mine who is a farmer and who also is the operator of an elevator which buys and ships soy-beans. The writer of this letter, Wilburn L. Davidson, a former secretary of the Midsouth Soybean & Grain Shippers Association, is familiar with the problems involved in this proposed action and I believe his letter, directed to the Director, Grain Division, United States Department of Agriculture, will give each of my colleagues a better insight into this problem, and I hope will cause them to contact the Secretary of Agriculture and urge that he exercise his authority in preventing this drastic change from taking place. Mr. Davidson's letter reads:

KENNETT GRAIN & SEED CO., Kennett, Mo., February 17, 1955. DIRECTOR, GRAIN DIVISION,

AGRICULTURAL MARKETING SERVICE. United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In regard to the proposed revisions of the soybean grade standards, we wish to file our arguments as follows:

- 1. We wish to oppose the proposed revision that would reduce the maximum limits of foreign material 1 percent in each numerical
- (a) The present grades are good, and allow huge tonnages of soybeans to move smoothly through the channels of commerce. Modern combines will leave close to 2 percent foreign material under best conditions, and when this crop is handled by two or more elevators, the foreign material (including soybean chips) will run from 1.9 percent to 2.9 percent under the best conditions. Present grade standards reflect this fact, and provide reasonable standards that reflect actual quality. A change in the grade standards would be unrealistic, and provide an artificial standard that would not aid the movement of the soybean crop through the channels of commerce.
- 2. We wish to oppose the proposed revision that classify soybeans with green seed coats and yellow cross-section as green class soybeans rather than yellow soybeans.

(a) The present classification has worked well since the 1949 change. A complaint by 1 or 2 foreign countries is insignificant.

(b) The Ogden soybean has green seed coat at times and is yellow in cross-section. The Ogden soybean is the best adapted variety for most of the southern United States. The Ogden is bright green generally in appearance at the beginning of the season, but changes to yellow when subjected to rain, frost, or delay in harvest. Normally, Ogdens will range from green to green and yellow to pure yellow at the same time during harvest. In summary, no Federal grain inspector will be able to grade the Ogden on color accurately; such a green classification will

be an artificial classification not meeting the facts.

(c) Soybeans are being bought and sold to the foreign markets by origin, and this is a well established fact. Any foreign country can obtain strictly yellow soybeans at any time, with identity preserved. Hard wheat from Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas is traded smoothly in the various market places as well as hard wheat from Missouri and Illinois, and the market prices reflect the quality of the origins. Such an acceptance at the market place is true in soybeans. Soybeans are and can be traced by origins.

(d) Ogden soybeans are high in quality. The oil is high in percentage and is of excellent quality; the soybean meal from Ogden soybeans makes excellent livestock and poultry feed equal to meal from any

origin.

(e) New varieties are being constantly introduced, and in a few years a yellow variety, equal or superior to Ogden soybean, will be introduced. Why should the vast southern region of the United States of America be segregated and penalized unnecessarily for

a few years?
(f) If the proposed Green classification is established, it will do harm as the Ogdens will be planted from March 1 through June 10, with the majority of the acres planted by May 5. The farmer is entitled to a year's notice before a change is made.

(g) There is no problem in the market with green and yellow classification. The farmer, the country elevator operator, the terminal elevator operator, and the domestic mills have not called for a change. The foreign buyer can obtain any color of soybeans easily under the present grain standard. Why should one or two complaints by foreign buyers change a great crop and great marketing system in the United States?

We submit our arguments as producers and as elevator operators, and we respectfully ask for your consideration of our argu-

ments in arriving at a decision. Respectfully yours, KENNETT GRAIN WILBURN L. DAVIDSON,

President. KENNETT GRAIN & SEED CO.,

### COMMISSION ON PATENT LAW AND ADMINISTRATION

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, I have just introduced legislation to create a commission on patent laws and administration. As set forth in the bill:

The Commission shall conduct a full and complete investigation and study of the patent laws of the United States and the administration and operation of such laws to determine what changes therein are necessary in their opinion to promote a greater contribution to continued technological advancement by the United States, with particular regard to the problem of how to stimulate an increased contribution on the part of the individual inventor.

The history of invention indicates that truly significant innovations are generally the work of outsiders to a particular industry-individuals far enough removed from an industry to have a fresh viewpoint on its problems.

Today industry ignores the individual inventor and an inhospitable patent system frustrates him. It is time to look

at the plight of the independent inventor who made America technologically great. Unless something is done, he may have to quit and the country cannot afford that.

This whole problem was reviewed with detail and thoroughness in an article by Edmund L. Van Deusen appearing in the December 1954 issue of Fortune magazine. So that the Congress may be informed on the subject, I am here setting forth Mr. Van Deusen's article:

### THE INVENTOR IN ECLIPSE (By Edmund L. Van Deusen)

When Percy C. Spencer, president of Sinclair Oil Corp., inaugurated the Sinclair plan in 1951, he thought he had found a way to spice industrial technology with the offbeat yet valuable inspirations of independent inventors. Spencer invited inventiveminded Americans everywhere to send their ideas to Harvey, Ill., where the staff of Sin-clair's new \$10-million research laboratory would evaluate the schemes and complete the development work on those that looked promising. All Sinclair wanted in return was a royalty-free license under the inventor's patent-and a sense of industrial accomplishment.

As of this date, 3 years later, Sinclair has obtained exactly nothing from its plan. Fewer than 50 of the thousands of inquiries and suggestions pertained to the specified subject (petroleum products), and of these only 3 seemed worth extensive testing. Two proved impractical, and the third, involving a new way to make cement, has been returned for commercial development to the original inventor, a Cleveland consulting engineer. Sinclair's conclusion: "There appears to be little room for the independent inventor in the petroleum industry.

The failure of the Sinclair plan is of deep significance to American industry. In an era of unmatched technological progress, the lone, inspired inventor seems to be playing a diminishing part. At the same time, the rate of American invention seems also to have declined. In 1920 the United States Patent Office received 7.7 patent applications for every 10,000 citizens; today, despite a slight upturn in the trend last year, the rate is 4.6 percent, a drop of about 40 percent.

This does not mean, however, that the inventive Yankee is a vanishing breed. Anyone willing to set himself up as a recipient of ideas can attest to the contrary. During World War II over 300,000 suggestions were submitted to the National Inventors Council. an agency created at the prompting of Lawrence Langner, the eminent patent attorney (and founder of the Theater Guild), to be a clearinghouse for new devices that might be of value to the Armed Forces. One such de-vice, an instrument invented by a treasure-hunting Florida radio mechanic, turned up on scores of beachheads as the familiar mine detector.

After the war the council's experience was duplicated by the Institute of Inventive Research of San Antonio, a nonprofit organiza-tion put together by Thomas Slick to provide a connecting link between inventors and industry. In 8 years the institute managed to evaluate over 100,000 inventions submitted by the public, and from this group was culled the lift-slab method of concrete construction used in building the \$5-million laboratories of the Radio Corporation of America (Fortune, November). But the costs of development of this and a dozen other promising ideas were so high that the institute, after running through its \$1-million endowment, closed its doors to new inventions and became a part of Slick's Southwest Research Foundation.

Where Slick left off, however, the Product Development Corp. of Boston has taken over, and on a profit-making basis. Product De-

velopment is a year-old affiliate of American Research & Development Corp. (reaction motors, tracerlab, etc.), and inventors are already sending their ideas to this new com-

pany at the rate of 50 a day.

Certainly there is no shortage of inventors and inventions, but then, that was not the problem encountered in the Sinclair experiment. The trouble has been quality, not quantity, and the reason for this is easy to For several decades, the important frontiers of technology have been advancing into the far reaches of chemistry, electronics, and, of late, nucleonics. Independent inventors, inadequately trained and equipped, can hardly hope to follow. The result is that these areas have become the preserve of the hired inventors who work in corporation laboratories. The lone unaided inventor can do little but concentrate on the mechanical-type inventions, the better mousetraps, that were the marvel of the 19th century but today are considered to be only gadgets.

#### INVENTION IS WHOSE BUSINESS?

Industry is keenly aware that the present quality of independent invention is low (General Electric finds that it is interested in less than one-tenth of 1 percent of the 2,500 ideas and suggestions submitted to it each year). Yet industry also seems to assume that this low quality is none of its business (GE's patent department has three men screening the public's ideas, 70 men processing the 3,000 to 4,000 patent suggestions developed annually by the company's own research laboratories).

Actually, industry's indifference toward

the lone inventor and his works is understandable. Modern industrial research, with its fine laboratories, its teams of specialists, and its multi-million-dollar budgets, appears able to provide all the technological progress that the Nation could desire. Indeed, amid this array of inventive power even such an obstinately independent inventor as Thomas Edison would find it hard to locate neglected areas in which to apply his genius. The easy assumption for industry to make is that the best inventors of this generation have all read the signs and are busily inventing within the walls of industry's research laboratories where, in the words of one director of research, "No one ever makes a million, but then, neither, does anyone starve." From this, it is logical to assume starve." virtually all the important inventions of the future will come out of the major laboratories.

This reasoning, however, is not so airtight as it seems. The history of invention indicates that truly significant innovations generally are the work of outsiders, individuals far enough removed from an industry to have Janney, a fresh viewpoint on its problems. inventor of the automatic railroad coupler, was a farmer, not a railroader. Cartwright, inventor of the power loom, was a minister. Eastman, a bookkeeper, revolutionized photography, but it took two musicians, Mannes and Godowsky, to show Eastman how to make photographs in color. Even television, a modern invention, would have been impossible without the inspired tinkering of generations of amateur inventors. Edward T. Dickinson, executive assistant to the president of Carrier Corp., conducted a study of this sort of intuitive innovation while vice chairman of the National Security Resources Board (the project was prompted by the belief that a creative atmosphere is an important natural resource). Dickinson con-cluded that such "leaps into the blue," whether by inventive individuals or by a whole population developing a new civilazation, occur at the time when those people have become isolated or withdrawn (e.g., the colonial period in America). For lone inventors, such withdrawal comes naturally, but it is extremely difficult to withdraw from of industry's organized teams of researchers.

THE INDEPENDENT "DOODLE"

Most industrial laboratories are also handicapped because "they think they can't af-ford to doodle," says Benjamin Franklin Miessner, a successful independent inventor who made good in 1930 by selling 50 radio-circuit patents to RCA for \$750,000. Meissner, still vigorously inventing, has great hopes for his latest doodles, a stringless electronic plano and a photoelectric phonograph, neither of which represents the type of project a corporate research director would choose to put in his annual budget.

Miessner's point is aptly illustrated by the inventive career of Edwin H. Land, inventor of Polaroid film and the Land ("1-minute") camera. In 1932 the total market for a cheap source of polarized light (used, at that time, only by experimenting physicists) would not have supported even the most modest of industrial-research programs. It fell, instead, to Land, an inquisitive college boy (Harvard), to conceive and develop a method of orienting tiny crystals in a sheet of plastic. Polarizing sunglasses, camera filters, and 3-D movies came much laterand took Land out of the class of lone inventors. By 1945 he was an industrialist. the president of his own successful company, Polaroid Corp., and director of a large research organization. And when he decided to invent a 1-minute camera, Land proceeded in a typically industrial way. camera was chosen because it was close to Polaroid's principal field (optics), yet different enough to provide good diversification for the company (no polarization is involved). Market surveys determined the weight, size, and cost limitations that the new camera had to meet. The self-developing characteristic was included because Land knew he could not break into the camera field without an exclusive feature. It took 3 years for a coordinated team of chemists. opticians, and mechanical engineers to produce the 1-minute camera exactly as Land had "invented" it.

The Land camera was an inventive tour de force and a great commercial success. the camera will never rank as a "great" invention, i. e., one that opens up new avenues of research or helps to build a new industry. For that type of accomplishment, Land must still point to his youthful, independent "doodle"-polarizing film.

### THE LOST INCENTIVE

While the long advance of technology has largely contributed to the independent inventor's low estate, it is hardly the complete explanation. Charles Goodyear spent 8 years—and landed in debtors' prison three times—searching for a better way to cure rubber. With only a fraction of that energy and sacrifice, modern inventors could gain proficiency in almost any area of technology they chose. (Expensive equipment is often needed to prove an idea—but not to conceive it.) Few inventors, however, take the time or trouble. Foorman Mueller, a Chicago patent attorney and past president of the American Patent Law Association, observes that "in the past 25 years there has been quite a change in the individual inventor; there is less initiative to carry a project beyond the idea stage, especially in that percentage of the population which in the early days would spend days, weeks, and months, untold energy, and their last penny to bring an inventive dream to fruition."

Mueller, as a patent lawyer, is in a par ticularly good position to diagnose cause of it all, for it is the steady weakening of the patent protection that is helping to sap the initiative of the independent inventor just when the complexities of technology are putting an extra strain on his tenacity. The patent system is the independent inventor's traditional incentive system, and when the value of patents drops, so does the drive to invent.

Federal statutes lay the ground rules under which the patent system operates, but these laws are constantly being interpreted by patent-office examiners, by Federal-court judges, and by plain businessmen every-where. And it is these individuals who in the end determine a patent's value. The Patent Office must decide correctly whether the invention is truly new. The courts, in turn, must decide, in the case of a patent in litigation, whether the Patent Office decision was justified (if they think not, they can invalidate the patent at any time). Finally. the business community must decide, after studying what the Patent Office and the courts have been doing with similar inventions, whether it is safe to invest in the new patents being offered for exploitation.

To hit the jackpot on his invention, the inventor must win all three decisions; it is not enough for him to gain a solid patent from the Patent Office-one that infringers would find it very difficult to invalidate through court action-if the market for patents is unsettled because of uncertainty over the standards by which the office and the courts are operating. Such uncertainty

now prevails.

#### JUDICAL CONFUSION

The uncertain value of patents is largely blamed on the Supreme Court itself, although that august body passes on only 2 or 3 cases involving patents a year. Yet the decisions of the Court have been a marvel of consistency; only 5 times in 15 years has it judged in favor of the patent holders, a record that finally led the late Justice Jackson to predict, in a dissenting opinion, that the day was coming when "the only patent that is valid is one which this Court has not been able to get its hands on."

Even more important than the decisions has been the language used by the justices in their invalidating opinions. Justice Douglas, in a case involving an automobile cigarette lighter, introduced the flash of genius test by writing that a new device, "however useful it may be, must reveal the flash of creative genius, not merely the skill of the calling." And in the famous A & P case Douglas again set a prohibitive standard by insisting, in a concurring opinion written with Justice Black, that "the invention to justify a patent, had to serve the ends of science-to push back the frontiers of chemistry, physics, and the like; to make a distinctive contribution to scientific knowledge." The illustrations on page 133 show edge." that even Thomas Edison's patent, on the electric light would fail these tests.

#### INFLUENCE OF THE COURT

The Supreme Court decisions have had a profound effect on the lower Federal courts. The most extreme example is the Appeals Court of the Second Circuit, which includes the important New York district court where one-fifth of all the patent cases in the country are initially tried. From 1948 through 1953 the appeals court heard cases involving 38 patents; in 37 instances, the patent was declared either invalid or not infringed; in only 1 case was the finding in favor of the patent holder. Such judicial precedents are not lost on the bargaining agents in a negotiation between an independent inventor and the business interests he is trying to entice.

In 1952 an effort was made to counteract the court decisions by incorporating a more moderate standard of invention into the new patent-law code adopted by Congress that year, but the few courts that have commented on the matter have maintained that the intent of Congress was primarily to codify, and not to modify, the existing patent laws. Another proposal, made by the Patent Equity Association of New York, is to create a system of technically trained judges for the hearing of patent cases. Such judges, drawn primarily from the ranks of

patent lawyers, would preside in all patent cases. But most patent authorities are agreed that little can be done until death or retirement changes the character of the courts; too many of the present judges were appointed during the era when Thurman Arnold was concentrating his antitrust fire on the beneficial monopoly of patents.

#### JEOPARDIZED QUALITY

Meanwhile the value of patents is being eroded by trouble from a new direction. Indifference and neglect are reducing the effectiveness of the Patent Office itself, and this will eventually have a direct effect on the quality of the patents that the office issues. A patent may be invalidated at any time if someone can prove to the courts that the invention was not new when it was applied for. It is the patent examiner's job to look for prior art, but the Patent Office, unlike a title company, makes no guaranty that this search was complete. The inventor and his backers must proceed with commercial development at their own risk.

It is the quality of the Patent Office search that is jeopardized. Each year an additional 40,000 United States patents are added to the prior art, along with an equally large number of foreign patents, and tons of technical literature in every language. This, plus the increasing complexity of the individual patent applications, has doubled, in the past 50 years, the time and effort needed to process an application. Worse still, the 650 examiners are so rushed in their routine work (they are 200,000 applications behind) that there is no time to do the classifying and collating necessary to make sense out of this mountain of information. And now, instead of giving the Patent Office the help it needs, the present administration has chosen to put the office on a stringent economy regime. The Bureau's budget for fiscal 1955 is \$11,-500,000, down a half million from the \$12 million that it has spent in recent years. make the office more nearly self-sufficient, the Department of Commerce (parent to the Patent Office) has asked Congress to raise the basic fees for obtaining patents from \$60 to a sliding scale that approximates \$120 per patent. Yet even this increase will cover only half of the current \$6-million deficit.

These efforts at economy come at an inopportune moment. The Commissioner of Patents, Robert C. Watson, a respected Washington attorney appointed by the Republican administration, calculates that the Patent Office needs immediately an additional 200 examiners just to stay even with the incoming work and to effect a small annual reduction (5 percent) in the backlog of waiting applications. This reduction is particularly important because it is the application backlog that determines the length of time, now an average of 3 years and 7 months, between the date of application and the issuance of a patent. As indicated by the chart on page 135, the office is actually working on the application for only 4 or 5 days during the years that an inventor waits for his patent.

An Advisory Committee on Application of Machines to Patent Office Operations has been formed under the chairmanship of Vannevar Bush to study the possibility of mechanizing at least part (possibly 20 percent) of the examiner's work. But this is long term, and of immediate moment is Watson's need for a special fund, possibly

\$5 million or \$6 million, spread over as many years, with which to tackle the growing job of reclassification. (Searches are made by classes of inventions, and some of these groupings have not been brought up to date in years.) Unless there is some radical change in the administration's thinking, however, Watson probably will not get even this short-term aid. And the value of patents will continue to diminish,

#### INDUSTRIAL RESPONSIBILITY

The independent inventors, as a group, are too disorganized to do anything concrete in their own defense. This raises the question whether it is industry's responsibility to use its weight and influence on the independent inventor's behalf. There are two good reasons why industry should. First, there is a strong presumption that industrial, organized research cannot yet entirely supplant the brain storms, the flashes of genius of the independents. But even more important is the fact that if the lone inventor is allowed to atrophy, the patent system, the institution that makes industrial research economically feasible, may become defenseless against political attack.

In this regard the patent system is already vulnerable. Not since the 1920's, when the patent pool assembled by RCA brought radio out of its infancy, has the protection provided by patents created a totally new industry in the manner exemplified by Bell's patent on the telephone, Goodyear's patent on the vulcanization of rubber, or Hall's patent on the reduction of aluminum. The important developments of the past quartercentury (e. g., television, jet engines, synthetic fibers, detergents, rubber) have served mainly to entrench the established companies with large research staffs. A large portion of the United States population is persuaded that any monopoly, even the temporary one created by the patent grant, is fundamentally evil; and the argument that patents help "the big get bigger" has a particularly convincing ring when it coincides with evidence that the lone inventor is being denied a fair opportunity. If for no other reason than to counteract this charge, industry should give the independent inventor a helping hand.

# UNPLUGGED CHANNELS

There are many ways in which industry could help. It could, for example, give financial and moral support to the groups that are trying to strengthen the faltering patent system. More specifically, industry could subsidize adult classes at colleges and universities where independent inventors could take cram courses in the new technologies. But the most effective single act industry could perform would be to review its own attitudes toward the lone inventor.

For example, the channels of communication between corporation and inventor need to be cleared; the deluge of ideas that flood organizations like Product Development Corp. and the Institute of Inventive Research proves that these channels have been, in the past, badly plugged. Improve-ment, however, will not come easily. The mutual suspicion between inventor and corporation is born of bitter experiences by both. To defend themselves from crackpots looking for a lawsuit, most companies insist that the inventor at least have a patent application in process before they will listen to him. Even the Sinclair plan included this provision, which alone may have doomed the program from the start. If the inde-pendent inventor is ever to enter the higher reaches of technology, where extensive lab-oratory tests are required to establish even the patentability of a nebulous idea, industry will have to find a simpler method of defending its own and the inventor's

Corporations could also reexamine their policies toward their own researchers. In their employer's field of interest, these inventors are hired inventors, but in all other areas of technology, the same men are potential independent inventors. Too many companies hamper initiative by not establishing a consistent policy on the question of the unwanted invention. Researchers should be able to exploit freely any ideas or inventions they develop that are not of interest to the company that is paying their salary.

Finally, the corporations, either directly or through industry associations, could inform the independent inventors of the types of problems that are currently proving troublesome. The National Inventors Council has used this scheme successfully for several years by periodically listing the current needs of the Armed Forces (e. g., a low-temperature storage battery for Arctic troops). The toughest part of this job for industry would be to admit occasionally that its own research programs are not infallible.

A case in point is the electronic industry's effort to find a way to make a cheap and reliable cathode-ray tube for receiving color television. Present tubes cost 10 times their black-and-white equivalents, and it will probably require an entirely new concept of design or manufacture to reduce this ratio substantially. Chances are that when the way is found, it will be so simple and obvious that every television repairman in the country will wonder why he didn't think of it first. But then, that has been true of every great invention—after it has been invented. And that is why, given a chance and enough incentive, independent inventors will always be able to pay their own way.

#### DEMOCRATIC IRRESPONSIBILITY

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I ask unaimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the action just taken by the majority members of the Ways and Means Committee cannot help but shake public confidence in that great committee. The committee, on a straight party line vote, has approved a tax reduction proposal which would cost the Government \$2.3 billion in revenue.

It did so without hearings, or even without prior public discussion.

It did so in a most devious way—as though afraid to have the proposal stand on its own merits—by tacking it on a bill which we all know must pass.

It did so in the face of a prospective deficit of \$2.4 billion—a deficit we can keep that low only if the Congress exercises the greatest restraint in voting upon appropriations and authorization bills.

It did so at a time when not a single appropriation bill for fiscal 1956 had even been reported to the House for action—at a time when we have no idea of our burden of expenditures during the next fiscal year.

It did so at a time when leading Democrats, and Democrat-run committees, are calling for the enactment of bigger and better Federal spending projects—huge Federal grants for school aid, more Fed-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>The present Court of Customs and Patent Appeals in Washington, D. C., is, like the tax courts, organized to adjudicate between the Government (i. e., the Patent Office) and the public. Most patent cases of importance, however, are between two citizens and generally involve a patent infringement. The Government, in issuing a patent, grants a monopoly for 17 years, but the patent holder must defend that privilege on his own.

eral power projects in the West and the South, increased military expenditures, larger salary increases for postal and other Federal employees and mandatory high-level support prices for the basic

This, Mr. Speaker, is irresponsibilitycold, calculated, disastrous fiscal ir-

responsibility.

### SENATE BILL AND CONCURRENT RESOLUTION REFERRED

A bill and a concurrent resolution of the Senate of the following titles were taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S. 913. An act to eliminate the need for renewal of oaths of office upon change of status of employees of the Senate; and

S. Con. Res. 9. Concurrent resolution print for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary additional copies of certain parts of the hearings on Interlocking Subversion in Government Departments; to the Committee on House Administration.

### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to extend remarks in the RECORD, or to revise and extend remarks, was granted to:

Mr. ROONEY (at the request of Mr. McCormack) and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. SCRIVNER (at the request of Mr. ARENDS)

Mr. HILLINGS (at the request of Mr. ARENDS) in three separate instances, in each to include extraneous matter.

Mr. RABAUT and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. Jones of Missouri in two instances, in each to include extraneous matter.

Mr. Hosmer and to include extraneous

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska.

Mr. WOLVERTON and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. McDonough (at the request of Mr. SCUDDER)

Mr. Engle (at the request of Mr. METCALF) and to include extraneous matter.

# ADJOURNMENT

Mr. LONG. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 8 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, February 23, 1955, at 12 o'clock noon.

# EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS,

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

452. A letter from the Chairman, Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, transmitting a report on "Paperwork Management, Part I, In the United States Government, pursuant to Public Law 108, 83d Congress (H. Doc. No. 92); to the Committee on Government Operations.

453. A letter from the Chairman, Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, transmitting the task force report on Paperwork Management in the United States Government, pursuant to Public Law 108 (ch. 184), 83d Congress; to the Committee on Government Operations.

454. A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a report with reference to reservations from appropria-tions within Indian reservations, for the calendar year 1954, pursuant to 36 Statutes 858; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

455. A letter from the Secretary of Commerce, transmitting the quarterly report for the period October 1, 1954, through December 31, 1954, of the Maritime Administration, covering transactions under the Merchant Ship Sales Act of 1946, pursuant to section 13 of the act; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

456. A letter from the Secretary of the Army, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation, to amend section 7 of the act approved September 22, 1922, as amended; to the Com-

mittee on Public Works.

457. A letter from the Acting Secretary of Agriculture, transmitting a draft of pro-posed legislation entitled "To authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to establish townsites within the national forests, and for other purposes"; to the Committee on Agri-

458. A letter from the Acting Secretary, Department of the Air Force, transmitting a draft of legislation entitled "To amend section 640 of title 14, United States Code, concerning the interchange of supplies between the Armed Forces"; to the Committee on Armed Services.

459. A letter from the executive vice president, National Fund for Medical Education, transmitting a report of an audit of the National Fund for Medical Education for the year ended December 31, 1954, made by Price Waterhouse & Co., 56 Pine Street, New York City 5, N. Y., independent certi-fied public accountants; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUB-LIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. MADDEN: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 91. Resolution authorizing the Committee on Foreign Affairs to conduct thorough studies and investigations of all matters coming within the jurisdiction of such committee; with an amendment (Rept. No. 64). Referred to the House Calendar. Mr. TRIMBLE: Committee on Rules.

House Resolution 105. Resolution to authorize the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce to conduct investigations and studies with respect to matters within its jurisdiction; with an amendment (Rept. No. 65). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. SPENCE: Committee on Banking and Currency. House Joint Resolution 202. Joint resolution to amend the National Housing Act, as amended; without amendment (Rept. No. 66). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. COOLEY: Committee on Agriculture. H. R. 1573. A bill to repeal section 348 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938; without amendment (Rept. No. 67). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. ENGLE: Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. H. R. 1801. A bill to author-ize the purchase, sale, and exchange of cer-

tain Indian lands on the Yakima Indian Reservation, and for other purposes; without amendment (Rept. No. 68). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. COOPER: Committee on Ways and Means. H. R. 4259. A bill to provide a 1-year extension of the existing corporate normal-tax rate and of certain existing excise-tax rates, and to provide a \$20 credit against the individual income tax for each personal exemption; without amendment (Rept. No. 69). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

# PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. COOPER:

H. R. 4259. A bill to provide a 1-year extension of the existing corporate normaltax rate and of certain existing excise-tax rates, and to provide a \$20 credit against the individual income tax for each personal exemption; to the Committee on Ways and

By Mr. BUCKLEY:

H. R. 4260. A bill to create a Federal highway corporation for financing the construction of the national system of interstate highways; to amend and supplement the Federal-Aid Road Act approved July 11, 1916 (39 Stat. 355), as amended and supplemented; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. DONDERO:

H. R. 4261. A bill to create a Federal highway corporation for financing the construction of the national system of interstate highways; to amend and supplement the Federal-Aid Road Act approved July 11, 1916 (39 Stat. 355), as amended and supplemented; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. DIXON:

H.R. 4262. A bill to authorize certain improvement of the Weber Basin, Utah, for flood control; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. DOLLIVER:

H. R. 4263. A bill to provide institutional on-farm training for the veteran who performs part of his course as the employee of another; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. FINO:

H.R. 4264. A bill to grant a pension of \$100 per month to all honorably discharged veterans of World War I who are 60 years of age; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. FORAND:

H. R. 4265. A bill to amend paragraph 1004 (a) of the Tariff Act of 1930, with respect to the importation of certain yarns; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. FORRESTER: H.R. 4266. A bill to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 to provide that any State or county which plants 85 percent or more of its cotton-acreage allotment shall be deemed to have planted its full allotment; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. HOSMER:

H. R. 4267. A bill for the establishment of a Commission on Patent Laws and Administration; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. McDONOUGH:

H. R. 4268. A bill to permit local taxation of the private interest in personal property and work in process and inventories of material acquired by the Federal Government for military security and the national defense but in the possession of contractors

with the Federal Government; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MILLER of Nebraska:

H. R. 4269. A bill to amend the Packers and Stockyards Act, 1921, to authorize additional market services for livestock purchasers; to the Committee on Agriculture. By Mrs. PFOST:

H. R. 4270. A bill to provide for the construction of a water-filtration plant at Bon-ners Ferry, Idaho; to the Committee on

Agriculture.

By Mr. PRICE:

H. R. 4271. A bill to establish public use of the national forests as a policy of Congress, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H. R. 4272. A bill to establish public use of the national forests as a policy of Congress, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. SILER:

H. R. 4273. A bill to provide for compensating local peace officers who seize vehicles which are forfeited to the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 4274. A bill to amend the War Claims Act of 1948, so as to extend the benefits of such act to persons captured or interned by, or in hiding from, the Japanese Government in China during World War II; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H. R. 4275. A bill to provide for the establishment of the Wildcat Mountain National Military Park in the State of Kentucky; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. SMITH of Mississippi:

H. R. 4276. A bill to amend the Communications Act of 1934 to prohibit the interception of communications by persons other than public officers and employees in the exercise of their official duties; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H. R. 4277. A bill to provide Federal assistance to business enterprises, communities, and individuals injured by tariff reductions; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 4278. A bill to grant an additional income-tax exemption to a taxpayer supporting a dependent who is blind or otherwise permanently and totally disabled; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ALGER:

H. J. Res. 226. Joint resolution authorizing the President of the United States of America to proclaim the period August 21 to 27, 1955, as American Law Student Week; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MILLER of Maryland:

H. J. Res. 227. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relating to the composition and jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SCRIVNER: H. J. Res. 228. Joint resolution to authorize transfer of a percentage of tax collections from individual and corporate income taxes to the States and Territories for use for educational purposes only, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. THOMAS: H. J. Res. 229. Joint resolution authorizing the President of the United States of America to proclaim the period August 14 to 17, 1955, as American Law Student Week; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DOYLE:

H. Res. 151. Resolution to amend the rules of the House of Representatives to provide for a code of fair procedure for committees; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. TALLE: H. Res. 152. Resolution expressing the sense of the House of Representatives with respect to the great contribution being made to blind persons everywhere by the Gospel Association for the Blind; to the Committee on House Administration.

#### MEMORIALS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

By the SPEAKER: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of Alabama, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to enact legislation limiting the appellate jurisdiction of the United States Supreme Court and the jurisdiction of other Federal courts; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Arizona, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to pass legislation withdrawing all tribal lands of the Papago Indian Reservation except lands previously patented or now subject to valid mining claims, etc.; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Idaho, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States urging that the Corps of Engineers report on the Libby project be approved, that the project be authorized, and that funds be made available for its construction; to the Committee on Public Works.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Massachusetts, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States against the enactment of legislation lowering the tariffs on the importation of rubber products; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of South Carolina, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to extend the emergency drought relief feed program; to the Committee on Agriculture.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the Territory of Alaska, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States requesting immediate statehood for Alaska; the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the Territory of Alaska, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States urging that House bill 610, now pending before the Congress, be passed and approved; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the Territory of Alaska, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States urging enactment of legislation authorizing the issuance of a patent conveying fee simple title to those certain necessary tidelands in Shoemaker Bay to the Pacific Northern Timber Co.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

### PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BOGGS:

H.R. 4279. A bill for the relief of John (Janos) Frank; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DORN of South Carolina:

H. R. 4280. A bill to direct the Secretary of Agriculture to release on behalf of the United States conditions in two deeds con-veying certain submarginal lands to Clemson Agricultural College of South Carolina so as to permit such college, subject to certain conditions, to sell, lease, or otherwise dispose of such lands; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. GORDON:

H. R. 4281. A bill for the relief of Joseph Piatkowski; to the Committee on the Judi-

By Mr. HOSMER: H. R. 4282. A bill for the relief of Manuel R. Llamado; to the Committee on the JudiBy Mr. McCARTHY:

H. R. 4283. A bill for the relief of William T. Collins, also known as Vasilios T. Buzunis; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PILLION:

H. R. 4284. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Mariannina Monaco; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RICHARDS:

H. R. 4285. A bill to direct the Secretary of Agriculture to release on behalf of the United States conditions in two deeds conveying certain submarginal lands to Clemson Agricultural College of South Carolina so as to permit such college, subject to certain conditions, to sell, lease, or otherwise dispose of such lands; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky:

H. R. 4286. A bill for the relief of Dr. Margaret Galoustian; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RODINO:

H. R. 4287. A bill for the relief of Dr. Nurollah Hakim; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SCHWENGEL:

H. R. 4288. A bill for the relief of the law firm of Harrington & Graham; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SCUDDER:

H. R. 4289. A bill for the relief of Vladislav Bevc; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

### PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

110. By Mr. FORAND: Resolution of the Franco-Belgian Mutual Association of Rhode Island, favoring the enactment of legislation to amend the social security law, so as to enable qualified workers to receive their FICA pensions at the age of 60 years, instead of 65 years of age, as at present; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

111. By Mr. HOSMER: Petition of the Propeller Club of the United States, Port of Los Angeles-Long Beach, relating to a resolution urging that Federal aid as provided the past year be continued for fiscal year 1956 and thereafter, including necessary appropriations; and that provisions of long-existing law authorizing State maritime academies be fully observed; to the Committee on Appro-

priations.

112. Also, petition of the Propeller Club of the United States, Port of Los Angeles-Long Beach, relating to a resolution requesting that the Congress of the United States enact legislation to alter and correct the fiscal policy of the Panama Canal so as to relieve commercial cargoes transiting the canal of the portions of operating, interest, depreciation, and Canal Zone Government costs properly allocable to other departments or agencies of the Government; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

113. By the SPEAKER: Petition from the president of the Lithuanian Roman Catholic Federation of America, No. 10, Norwood, Mass., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to expressing gratitude to the United States for its favorable attitude toward Lithuania in her cause for restoration of independence; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

114. Also, petition from the grand knight. Morning Star Council, No. 294, Knights of Columbus, Brooklyn, N. Y., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to expressing support of the principles of the proposed Bricker amendment to the Constitution of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

115. Also, petition from the city manager Anchorage, Alaska, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to urging passage of the Alaska statehood bill, now pending before the Congress; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

# EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

# Dixon-Yates Contract

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, our colleague the gentleman from California [Mr. UTT] has reported to his constituents on the so-called Dixon-Yates contract. I wish to include in the Record at this point the gentleman's statement which is short, lucid, and points up the real facts surrounding this issue which has become the subject of unnecessary controversy.

The report follows:

#### WASHINGTON REPORT

(By Congressman JAMES B. UTT)

I am impelled to make a few simple remarks about the Dixon-Yates contract because it is being used by some as a symbol of evil. It is the bone of contention in the fight of the Socialists to destroy private enterprise. They use it as the offsetting answer to everything that is good. You make the casual remark that inflation has been stopped, and the cost of living is down. The reply is, "Yes, but how about Dixon-Yates?" You continue, "The national income is going up and taxes are coming down." Again the reply is, "Yes, but how about Dixon-Yates?" That reply has become so universal that if you were talking to Chou En-Lai and said, "It is a violation of the Korean Armistice for you to hold our prisoners," he would say, "Yes, but how about Dixon-Yates?"

## POWER REQUIREMENTS

Some background is necessary in order to understand how the contract came into existence. The Atomic Energy Commission is the largest single user of electric energy in the United States, and by far the largest customer of the Tennessee Valley Authority. The TVA came to Congress a few years ago and said that by 1957 they would be short of power by some five or six hundred thousand kilowatt-hours. The AEC has first call on energy, and private users would have to be rationed. They asked for \$100 million of Federal money to build a steam plant at Fulton, 25 miles north of Memphis, which is nearly 100 miles outside of the Tennessee Valley watershed. Three times Congress refused to appropriate this money as the locale was not within the jurisdiction of TVA.

The Director of the Budget suggested that it might be feasible to find some private industry to supply this anticipated shortage. TVA has long been unable to supply the AEC with needed energy at the Paducah atomic-energy plant, as witness the fact that the Commission under the Truman administration negotiated two contracts for private supplies, three times in excess of the current subject contract. These contracts were negotiated without any of the sound and fury which accompanies the Dixon-Yates negotiations, even though the energy charge was slightly higher than the one now contemplated.

#### NO GIVEAWAY

The Government can cancel these contracts on 3 years' notice, and the private companies would then have to find a market for the surplus energy so canceled out. This in itself would be no small task. Due to the possibility of cancellation, it was felt

that it would not be feasible to concentrate additional power around Paducah, which could not be absorbed by other customers, but that any additional energy should be generated at a point which, if cancellation should come, the supplier could find a reasonable ready market for the energy.

sonable ready market for the energy. It was felt that a plant located near Memphis could be built, and the energy exchanged with TVA to cover its growing shortage. The AEC would exchange kilowatt for kilowatt with TVA. The contract provides that the Government can buy the Dixon-Yates plant at any time, or can cancel at any time. Here I should say that Dixon and Yates are just names. Each is the head of a large going public utility in the area, and the two companies formed the Mississippi Generating Co. to finance the project which has an estimated cost of \$107 million. One hundred million would come from bonds and notes, and the balance would be the risk capital supplied by the two parent companies.

The contract provides a ceiling on what they can earn, but no floor. There is no guaranteed income. The ceiling is less than the national average for public utilities. The energy charge will be less than TVA now charges the AEC at its Oak Ridge plant, if you eliminate the tax factor. And speaking of taxes, it should be noted that the taxe paid by private electric utilities for local, State, and Federal taxes in the United States average 44 percent of the gross income from sale of energy, and while TVA claims to pay taxes, they amount to only 4 percent of their gross income from energy sales.

#### SOCIALISM OR FREE ENTERPRISE

The question arises: Are the people of this country going to support the Government, or is the Government going to support the people? The attack on the Dixon-Yates contract is not based upon facts, it is a diversionary action, while the real attack is against private enterprise. The Socialist plan is for Government ownership of all capital. Public power is the spearhead of this drive, and because it is the easiest segment of industry to nationalize, the Socialists cannot afford to let the Dixon-Yates contract go unchallenged, even though it would supply the shortage of energy, encourage private industry, and save the Government from borrowing another \$100 million.

I am glad that the President is standing firm on the issue in spite of the attacks. The opponents have done a potent job of obscuring the provisions and purposes of the contract and we who support private enterprise should be just as effective in presenting the facts in their true light.

# USDA Uses Unique Methods in Soybean Hearing at Memphis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. PAUL C. JONES

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege to attend a hearing at Memphis, Tenn., on February 14 when a crowd estimated at more than 300 people were present to listen to testimony in opposition to proposals of the United States Grain Standards Branch of the United States Department of Agri-

culture to make certain changes both in grades and classifications.

This was a rather unique hearing, Mr. Speaker, due to the fact that the only persons in attendance at the meeting who appeared to favor the changes were Mr. Barr, chief inspector of the Grain Division, and the other representatives of the Department of Agriculture. Anyone attending the meeting had an opportunity to be heard, and several of us stated that we would like to know who was sponsoring the changes and that we would like to hear from anyone present who approved or endorsed the changes.

Mr. Barr was the only person who defended the position of the Department of Agriculture in proposing to make changes in standards and classifications which have been in effect and which apparently have been working very well since 1949. However, Mr. Barr was not only willing to indicate his support of these proposed changes in which he would naturally have a pride of authorship, but went so far at one time as to state that his division was convinced, and then immediately retracted this strong language to state that the Division was of the opinion that the changes might properly be considered.

This meeting or hearing was unique in another way, Mr. Speaker. I am referring to the lack of notice which the farmer—the actual producer of soybeans—had. Actually, it was rather by accident and certainly indirectly that I learned about the hearing to be held in Memphis—one of a series of five.

When I inquired of the Department of Agriculture about the notice that had been given, I was told that the notice of the meeting had been sent to the Federal Register. Now, of course, some of my farmers do not read the Federal Register. I was told the notice was sent to most of the trade journals. Naturally, those subscription lists do not include any considerable number of farmers—the man who actually produces the soybeans and who would be vitally affected by any changes and who certainly should have the opportunity to express himself before any changes are made.

I was particularly interested in whether or not the Commercial Appeal, the paper that most of the people in the Midsouth area read, was notified of this meeting. If they received a notice, it was not a notice that gained the attention of any editor, for there was absolutely no prior notice of this meeting in the Sunday or Monday morning issues prior to the meeting on Monday.

The crowd that did gather was recruited by some of the smaller elevator operators and through the Midsouth Soybean & Grain Shippers Association. Naturally, the American Soybean Association had notice of the meeting and this notice was carried in its monthly magazine, but, again, this was not the notice that gets to the actual producer. As an indication of the lack of notice given throughout the section of the Midsouth where the soybean is a major crop,

and where any reclassification will result in millions of dollars loss to the farmers of that area. I am, in another extension of the RECORD, having reproduced an article from the Republican, a newspaper of Caruthersville, Mo., as reported by Mr. Albert Cravens, a secretarytreasurer of the Midsouth Soybean & Grain Shippers Association.

Mr. Speaker, I have asked to have included with these remarks of mine a copy of a letter, written by the president of the above-named association, directed to the Director of the Grain Division in the USDA, setting forth the views of the Midsouth Soybean & Grain Shippers Association on the proposed revisions of the soybean standards, which is as follows:

MIDSOUTH SOYBEAN AND GRAIN SHIPPERS ASSOCIATION. February 17, 1955.

DIRECTOR, GRAIN DIVISION, AMA, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

VIEWS OF THE MIDSOUTH SOYBEAN AND GRAIN SHIPPERS ASSOCIATION ON THE PROPOSED RE-VISIONS OF THE SOYBEAN STANDARDS

1. On the proposed revision that would reduce the maximum limits of foreign material 1 percent in each numerical grade. country shippers we are in the middle on this question as we only buy on the grade that we have to sell but as the growers as presented by the American Soybean Asso-ciation and the processors thought their present buying practices want 2 percent foreign material in No. 2 soybeans, we see no reason why the change cannot be made. We do, however, urge that a study be made to see if some simple method can be found to separate true foreign material from the small broken pieces of soybeans that fall through an %4-round-hole screen. Maybe the use of a smaller hole size such as a 564 would let enough of the small-weed seed through and leave enough broken pieces on the screen to reduce the buildup of foreign material we now have in soybeans through handling. If such a method can be found we urge its use.

2. On the reduction of moisture we see no reason why the moisture in No. 1 soybeans cannot be reduced to 12 percent. However, we feel that no change need be made in the moisture of No. 2 soybeans as we have found that even in our humid climate 14-percentmoisture soybeans can be stored.

3. We can see no reason why the change in splits should not go through if you in department feel that it would improve the soybean-grading system.

4. On the proposed special limits on heat damage in each numerical grade. We are against such limits as they would work a Today inspectors hardship on all shippers. are having enough trouble determining total damage or just how much total damage a sample contains. However, if the Depart-ment feels that such limits should be put into effect, then heat damage should be more clearly defined. We suggest that it means soybeans that have turned entirely black or brown from heat. The present methods of saying that a small brown spot The present in the middle of an otherwise sound soybean is heat damage leaves too much room for human error and judgment for such narrow limits of heat damage as have been proposed by the Department.

5. On the proposed reclassification of soybeans with green seed coats that are in cross section yellow from the yellow class to the green class. We cannot say too strongly that we are opposed to this change. We have many reasons for being against the change. Here are just a few of them: 80 percent or more of the Midsouth soybean production

would be affected by this change. No evidence was present at Memphis to disprove our conclusion that if the proposed change went through that 90 percent of our Ogden type soybeans would grade as mixed. This was the case before the change in 1949. If they were classed as mixed in 1948 and before what new method has been developed to tell class by the variety predominate color and how could variety purity be proven? In other words how could an inspector tell the difference between a bleached Ogden and a pale S-100 to say that the sample was a mixture of green and yellow varieties or just a sample of Ogden type soybean and therefore are classed green and just happen to have 10 percent or more that just happen to be faded yellow?

We recognize the department's desire and the need to make a grade and class such that it will tell the buyer if he wants that certain quality or not. We agree that un-der the present standards for soybeans it is not always possible for the buyer to get just what he wants by buying a certain grade and class but as one of the speakers at Memphis pointed out No. 2 Hard wheat does not always describe just what type of No. 2 Hard wheat that a buyer wants. Therefore, a buyer will say that he wants Kansas or Texas No. 2 Hard wheat and not Illinois No. 2 Hard wheat. Today most buyers that need a yellow coated soybean for their special products have found that they can get what they want by saying that they want a No. 2 yellow soybean from Illinois points or maybe Ohio. We feel that since the buyers can get yellow coated soybeans by saying what he wants that it is not right to penalize the Midsouth that has no high yielding soybean that isn't mixed with green and yellow coats. We realize that you cannot sell a person for long something that he does not want so if it was not possible for a buyer to get yellow coated soybeans without changing the standards we would not be opposed but as he can get yellow coated soybeans leave the standards alone. Respectfully submitted,

PAUL C. HUGHES, President.

# Simple, Direct, Federal Aid for Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. ERRETT P. SCRIVNER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. SCRIVNER. Mr. Speaker, if you are looking for a simple, direct program for aid to education, free from Government controls, without costly administration, and devoid of any "share-thewealth" attributes, the joint resolution I am introducing today deserves your consideration and support.

Although most State treasuries are in better shape financially than is the Federal Treasury, there is no doubt but that in many States the demands, especially for education, call for more finances than the States are able to raise to provide needed buildings, maintenance, improved equipment, increases in teachers' salaries, and other items. The combined debt of the 48 States is about \$20 billion. Uncle Sam owes over \$275 billion.

With the enormous increase in Federal expenditures over the past 25 years the Federal Government has tapped every

practical possible source of tax revenue, with little consideration for the tax needs of State and municipal governments. The States are now dependent almost entirely upon direct taxes on real estate and personal property, duplicated income tax and sales taxes which fall heavily on persons of low income. In seeking new revenue the States find available sources already drained by Federal taxation-income taxes, admission taxes, beverage taxes, luxury taxes, transportation taxes, tobacco taxes, excise taxes, to name but a few. Enormous sums, billions of dollars annually, are siphoned out of the States in individual and corporate income taxes. The remaining revenue available to the States is inadequate to meet rising local costs of government and provide adequately for growing educational needs.

It is neither economical nor efficient to withdraw huge sums from the States and then have a portion of these funds trickle back under any of the proposed bureaucratic-administered programs of aid to education. If any of the presently proposed and pending programs are adopted, a large overhead for administration is unavoidable, and in some instances the only thing offered the State is an opportunity, lured on by Federal dollars in matching funds, to go into debt, and even this is prohibited by law in some

States.

Under the best-intentioned Federal administration, there remains the wellfounded objection that the compulsory requirement that each State meet conditions imposed by law and regulations of the administering bureau must be complied with to qualify for benefits. Furthermore, there is a deep-seated fear—also well founded—that with Government intervention in education programs, opportunity might well be found for channeling propaganda into our schools, along with Federal controls which naturally follow Federal dollars flowing from Washington.

With a modest beginning, these programs, with almost no exception, follow a pattern of growing and growing, until it is possible that the training of our youth throughout the Nation could some day be directed from one central Federal bureau, and that bureau would be headed by someone appointed, not elected, and thus not directly responsible to the taxpayers whose funds he was spending.

The prime responsibility for education programs is in the local community and the State. Conditions now existing are not emergency short-time situations, and can be expected to continue for the long indefinite future, as more children are

To easily, simply, cheaply, and efficiently provide the States with some financial aid for meeting their needs for the improvement of their respective educational programs, without increasing their debt, without building up a huge Federal bureaucracy, without fear of Federal controls, dictation, or propaganda, without the slightest element of distribution of wealth, I am proposing, by a joint resolution which I am today introducing, a simple, direct, unrestricted plan for aid to the States and the Territories to help them meet the educational demands within their respective come taxes approximately \$407,343,360.

On this basis there would have gone to

House Joint Resolution -

Whereas the Government of the United States, through taxes, is siphoning a great part of the wealth of our Nation out of the several States and Territories into the Faderal Treasury, and

Federal Treasury; and
Whereas the Government of the United
States is collecting taxes from nearly all
sources of revenue, including taxes on individual and corporate incomes, admissions,
beverages, communications, gifts, luxuries,
transportation, and from excises and other
taxes, leaving to the States little but real and
personal property and consumer sales as
sources of tax revenue; and

Whereas at rates approaching confiscation of property, States are still not able to raise revenue sufficient to carry the rising costs of State and local governments, and especially not to meet the demands for needed improvements and higher salaries for the training of our wouth; and

ing of our youth; and
Whereas it has been proposed that the
Federal Government grant aid to the States

for educational purpose; and
Whereas it is neither economical

Whereas it is neither economical nor efficient to withdraw huge sums out of the States and Territories and redistribute funds under bureaucratic regulation from the Federal Treasury, and

eral Treasury, and
Whereas it is desirable that such aid be
accomplished by a simple, easy, direct, and
efficient method, not hampered with bureaucratic restrictions, directions, or dictation:
Therefore be it

Resolved, etc., That 1 percent of all income taxes collected on individual and corporate incomes under Federal statutes shall be deemed to be revenue for the State or Territory within which it is collected, for use, for educational purposes only, without any Federal direction, control, or interference.

Federal direction, control, or interference. SEC. 2. District directors of internal revenue are hereby authorized and directed to transfer to the treasurer, or corresponding official, of the State or Territory within which their respective internal revenue districts are situated, at the end of each quarter, an amount equal to 1 percent of the taxes from individual and corporate incomes collected within such State or Territory during said

quarter.
SEC. 3. For purposes of information only, district directors of internal revenue shall report the amounts transferred to State treasurers, or corresponding officials, as authorized in section 2, to the Department of the Treasury, accompanying such report with receipts from the proper State officials verifying the amounts received by said State official.

Under this plan the handling of funds through Washington and back will be eliminated; the amounts available to each State will be determined annually by individual and corporate incomes within that State. The money will remain in the several States where it was collected. The total amount to be thus collected through Federal facilities for the States each year will be automatically geared to the national income for that year. There will be no danger or possibility of Federal control or dictation, and no opportunity for channelized propaganda. It will provide many States with a larger amount than would be available under many other plans which have been proposed. There would be no need for a growing bureaucratic horde with an insatiable hunger for power ready to consume ever-increasing amounts of taxes.

For example, in fiscal 1954 the district director for internal revenue for Kansas collected in individual and corporate income taxes approximately \$407,343,360. On this basis there would have gone to the State of Kansas under this plan, for the fiscal year 1954, \$4,073,433 every cent of which would be available for use within the State.

This is not a new proposal. I first presented it in 1949—H. R. 1582—at which time several various proposals were pending.

In the 80th Congress-1946-the Senate passed S. 472. Under that measure, the only direct aid to education bill to pass in either House of the Congress, the estimated initial contribution Kansas would have been required to make to the Federal Treasury would have been \$2,552,000. From the benefits authorized by S. 472, Kansas could have received back as aid to education a total of \$1,960,000-a net loss of \$600,000. The other proposals so far advanced would operate to take out of most States more to support the proposed program than would be returned in benefits, and on the whole would provide less in effective aid than is offered by my proposal.

Certainly under the plan I propose, the States, generally, by having this 1 percent of the individual and corporate Federal income taxes paid by its citizens withheld for use within each of the respective States for educational purposes, would be much better able to cope directly, as they deemed best, with their educational problems than they would under any program directed from a Washington bureau.

This proposal will be a step toward retaining our constitutional Republic and a move away from centralized government

Such legislation will be in keeping with suggestions made by the then Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, by keeping the control and responsibility local. He said:

When financing of schools is turned over to the Federal Government you get bureaucracy, and this is the approach to statism.

Every advocate of aid to education to whom I have talked insists he wants no Federal control, no bureaucracy. This resolution will meet that desire, for it need not add a single person to the Federal payroll and will certainly eliminate all possibility of Federal controls—even those found in most other proposals before the Congress.

From the table below based on tax collections for the fiscal year 1954—approximately—you can see the benefits for your own State. The logical appeal and the elimination of the danger of Federal bureaucratic controls under this plan would enable your State to provide more adequately and more efficiently for the needed enlargement of educational facilities and the necessary increase in salaries of teachers.

This direct use of income taxes is possible. It can be done. Precedent is established by Public Law 630 of the 81st Congress, where it is provided that all of the taxes of incomes earned by American citizens in Guam, while resident there, including stateside Americans, both civilians and military, should be turned over to the Government of Guam.

Not just 1 percent, but all of the income tax collected from Americans there—and Guam is merely an unincorporated Territory.

TABLE I

	Income tax col- lections fiscal year 1954 (in- cluding tax for old-age insurance)	1 percent of tax collected
Alabama	\$355, 904, 000	\$3, 559, 040
Arizona	153, 119, 000	1, 531, 190
Arkansas	148, 110, 000	1, 481, 100
California	4, 671, 633, 000	46, 716, 330
Colorado	553, 265, 000	5, 532, 650
Connecticut	1, 168, 589, 000	11, 685, 890
Delaware	869, 525, 000	8, 695, 250
Florida	599, 990, 000	5, 999, 900
Georgia	581, 573, 000	5, 815, 730 1, 261, 700
Hawaii	126, 170, 000	1, 261, 700
Idaho	100, 902, 000	1, 009, 020
IllinoisIndiana	4, 926, 633, 000	49, 266, 330
Iowa	1, 205, 079, 000 494, 575, 000	12, 050, 790
Kansas	437, 870, 000	4, 945, 750 4, 378, 700
Kentucky	441, 333, 000	4, 413, 330
Louisiana	459, 357, 000	4, 593, 570
Maine	459, 357, 000 159, 030, 000	1, 590, 300
Maryland	851, 777, 000	8, 517, 770
Massachusetts	851, 777, 000 1, 708, 884, 000	17, 088, 840
Michigan	4, 857, 146, 000	48, 571, 460
Minnesota	917, 256, 000	9, 172, 560
Mississippi	129, 336, 000	1, 293, 360
Missouri	1, 472, 722, 000 109, 285, 000	1, 293, 360 14, 727, 220 1, 092, 850
Montana	109, 285, 000	1, 092, 850
Nebraska	320, 620, 000	3, 206, 200
Nevada	70, 308, 000 118, 150, 000	703, 080
New Hampshire New Jersey	1, 745, 232, 000	1, 181, 500 17, 452, 320
New Mexico	99, 351, 000	993, 510
New York	11, 626, 091, 000	116, 260, 910
North Carolina	673, 436, 000	6, 734, 360
North Dakota	60, 929, 000	609, 290
Ohio	4, 147, 301, 000	41, 473, 010
Oklahoma	504, 416, 000	5, 044, 160
Oregon	403, 821, 000	4, 038, 210
Pennsylvania	4, 531, 795, 000	45, 317, 950
Rhode Island	271, 663, 000	2, 716, 630
South Carolina	239, 806, 000	2, 398, 060
South Dakota	67, 056, 000	670, 560
Tennessee Texas	463, 856, 000 1, 969, 318, 000	4, 638, 560 19, 693, 180
Utah	135, 924, 000	1, 359, 240
Vermont	70, 790, 000	707, 900
Virginia	641, 430, 000	6.414.300
Washington	711, 456, 900	6, 414, 300 7, 114, 560
West Virginia	270, 198, 000	2, 701, 980
Wisconsin	1, 121, 973, 000	11, 219, 730
Wyoming	51, 764, 000	11, 219, 730 517, 640
Alaska	45, 843, 000	458, 430
District of Columbia	707, 455, 000	7, 074, 550
Puerto Rico	(9, 571, 000)	(95, 710)
Total	58, 578, 533, 000	585, 785, 330

Note.—Because collections for old-age insurance are not shown separately in internal revenue reports, actual benefits would be somewhat less than shown here when adjustment made for that factor—an average of about 7.2 percent.

# Narcotics Addicts Have Been Hospitalized by the District Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. A. L. MILLER

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, as you may remember legislation was enacted during the 83d Congress which provides compulsory hospitalization, by court order, of drug addicts in the District of Columbia. During the hearings on my bill, it was pointed out that there were approximately 2,500 known drug users in our Nation's Capital.

During the past month the first 2 addicts have been compusorily hospitalized under the new law. The first was a young man of 20 years who was com-

mitted last Friday. Monday, a 30-yearold woman, who admitted using up to 8 caps of heroin a day, became the second to be sent to the United States Public Health Service Hospital at Lexington. Ky.

In the latter case, the new law proves its effectiveness in helping to eliminate crime in the District. An assistant United States attorney testified that the woman told police she had supported her expensive habit by prostitution.

On the other hand, 22 men and women drug users have voluntarily begun hospitalization under a special provision of the act since it went into effect last year. Of these, 1 man has been cured and has returned to the District. He was hospitalized approximately 5 months.

The law directs the court to commit drug addicts to the Public Health Service hospital until they are cured. After they are released, the patient must make periodic reports to authorities to insure that the person has not returned to the habit.

I believe it is only proper to point out that these persons are not considered as criminals under the provisions of the act but rather as patients. Still, the law provides no haven for those who have committed a crime under some other existing law.

# Soybean Producers Face Gigantic Loss if United States Department of Agriculture Carries Out Threat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. PAUL C. JONES

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, in connection with the proposal, if not the announced intention, of the Grain Standards Division of the Department of Agriculture to make certain changes in the soybean standards, I have gone on record as opposing these changes for a number of reasons.

Naturally, one of the most compelling reasons for opposing these changes is the fact that any such change would immediately and without question result in a financial loss of many millions of dollars, shared by practically every producer of soybeans throughout a large area of the South and the Midwest.

Furthermore, any change at this time. and without giving the farmers of my area, as well as those of many other States, an opportunity to make a change in their plans for planting, would be doing them the greatest disservice. If such a plan as a representative of the Department of Agriculture said they were convinced was in order, and which he indicated would be put into effect this year, is permitted to go into effect, it would cause confusion and penalize thousands of southern farmers at a time when they have already suffered an irreparable damage due to droughts of the past 3 years.

If such a change is to be made, it should not be made until after our farmers have had adequate notice and an opportunity to adjust their planting plans. It should, in my opinion, not be considered until sufficient notice has been given of the contemplated intentions of the Department to permit the development of a type of soybeans which will meet the requirements of the Department's so-called experts.

I would respectfully call to the attention of the Secretary of Agriculture, as well as to those who have the responsibility of carrying out the regulations of his Department, that to make this arbitrary change, without due notice to all parties concerned, would be to take a most unfair advantage of the very persons whose interests they are supposed to be guarding.

Furthermore, I would respectfully point out that, at the recent hearing held at Memphis, Tenn., with approximately 300 persons in attendance, not one single person with the exception of the representatives of the Department of Agriculture, expressed themselves as favoring the proposed changes, and in fact all of those present, including farmer producers, elevator operators, and warehousemen, processors, operators of terminal facilities, exporters, and others, all went on record as strongly opposing the proposed change in classification of soybeans, and at this hearing there was no satisfactory answer to the question of Who wants this change?

In connection with these remarks, I am including herewith copy of an article which appeared in one of the newspapers of my district, The Republican, of Caruthersville, Mo., which sets forth a rather complete résumé of the hearing at Memphis, which calls attention to the damage which would be done by the adoption of the proposed change in classification, and furthermore sets forth rather clearly a substantiation of the charges which I have made that there was inadequate notice of this hearing and that the farmers of that area generally had no notice of the great importance of the contemplated change and therefore have not had sufficient opportunity to voice their great opposition to this change.

Mr. Speaker, I hope that my colleagues, particularly those from the States of Missouri, Arkansas, Tennessee, Mississippi, Kentucky, and Louisiana, will join with me in protesting this proposed change in the classifications as they would affect not less than 80 percent and possibly as much as 85 to 90 percent of the soybeans produced in their respective districts.

Herewith is a report of the Memphis hearing as reported by Mr. Albert Cravens, secretary-treasurer of the Midsouth Soybean & Grain Shippers Association, in the Thursday, February 17, 1955, issue of the Caruthersville (Mo.) Republican:

USDA RECLASSIFICATION OF OGDEN BEAN WOULD COST PEMISCOT FARMERS

Albert Cravens of the Missouri Soybean Co., of Caruthersville, which also has elevators at Hayti, and who is also secretarytreasurer of the Midsouth Soybean and Grain Shippers Association, was among some 300 Midsouth growers, buyers, and

shippers who were in attendance at a United States Department of Agriculture meeting held Monday afternoon at the Hotel Peabody, Memphis, Tenn. A. O. "Cap" Acom of Wardell was also present. The meeting was in charge of J. E. Barr,

chief inspector, Grain Branch, USDA, who heard members of the group in testimony relative to a proposed change in classifica-tion of the Ogden soybean from a yellow to a green or mixed bean classification.

An interested witness at this meeting

was Congressman PAUL C. JONES, of Kennett, the only Congressman from any of the six States present at this important meeting.

Since the soybean, along with cotton, forms the backbone of this area's agricultural economy, the proposed change in classification is of prime importance to farmers in Pemiscot County and throughout this six State area.

The Ogden soybean sometimes has green seed coating over its yellow meat, making it appear to be a green instead of a yellow bean. The USDA proposes to change classification of the Ogden bean from yellow to green where it appears green. This actually would put the Ogden bean in the mixed classification, since some of the beans bleach out yellow while others retain their green coat at harvest time.

Mixed beans carry a 25-cent penalty when put in the loan and, it is feared here, this change in classification could lead to some discrimination against the bean in the American market.

At the conclusion of the meeting Mr. Barr gave the group little hope and said the USDA grading change, if made, may not be formulated before May 1, which would be well into the planting time in this county and area and would be too late for most farmers to make any adjustment in their planting schedules.

Mr. Barr told the group that "a lot of foreign buyers have complained on some green beans being certified yellow. We think it was a serious mistake when, in 1949, the Ogden was placed in the yellow classification."

In answer to the question of how many complaints had been made to the USDA by foreign buyers, Mr. Barr replied, "We think one is too many."

A representative of the port of New Orleans, who is also an exporter, told the meeting that this proposal is dangerous and will increase our problems tenfold. We think you will be faced with the never-ending problem of determining whether the bean is yellow or green or what.

A surprise visitor at the hearing was Congressman Paul C. Jones, of Kennett, Representative from the 10th District of Missouri. of which Pemiscot County is part. Congressman Jones is a member of the Agricultural Committee, serving in the fats and oils division. He testified briefly and chided Mr. Barr for not giving more publicity to the hearing.

That no publicity was given this important hearing was indicated by the fact that no press representatives were spotted in the large crowd and no Associated Press or United Press wire story was sent out from Memphis. nor was any mention of the meeting heard here over Memphis radio or television stations. No story was carried in Monday or Tuesday editions of The Commercial Appeal which were distributed here.

According to Cravens, Mr. Barr expressed surprise over the size of the crowd on hand and the outspoken manner which those who presented testimony participated in the meeting. "Reminds me of Texas," Barr said, W. H. (Bill) Wyatt, who spoke for the Ar-

kansas Bureau, pointed out that the mixed bean, in which classification the Ogden would fall, would draw a 25-cent per bushel penalty under the loan program.
"We believe," Mr. Wyatt told the meeting,

"any foreign buyer can get strictly yellow

beans from northern areas without hurting them and without totally wrecking our econ-

four- or five-million bushel crop in Mississippi County (Arkansas) alone in 1955, if the price dropped 20 cents, would mean a \$1 million loss.

"If the USDA can show us just cause why the bean should be changed, then time must

be allowed to develop a comparable yielding yellow bean," he stated.

Most farm bureau groups planned to hold meeting when they returned home to state the situation and make plans to press for some action through their Congressmen.

### Welcome to the Catholic Lawver

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON, JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, there has recently come off the press the first issue of a new professional publication entitled "The Catholic Lawyer." It is published quarterly by the St. Thomas More Institute for Legal Research of St. John's University School of Law, in Brooklyn, N. Y., under the editorship of Rev. Joseph T. Tinnelly, C. M., dean of the law school.

The statement of policy in the first issue contains the following:

The average attorney is a leader in his community. His opinion is respected, his advice valued, not only in purely professional problems but in a wide variety of subjects having some relation, however tenuous, to law. In consequence, no matter how sound his general and professional education may have been he still feels the need to widen and deepen his knowledge and experience. The success of the Practicing Law Institute, of graduate and post-admission courses in various law schools, and of institutes in taxation, insurance, labor law and other subjects under the auspices of bar associations, gives evidence of this widefelt need.

The Catholic attorney has all the professional obligations of his non-Catholic col-leagues. Indeed his conscience may be leagues. sharpened by the fact that his confessor will require him to make restitution for any harm which his culpable ignorance or lack of diligence may have caused a client.

The publication is intended to supply answers and information on problems of concern to lawyers by the promotion and publication of legal research in such subjects. It is dedicated to the principles of St. Thomas More, Lord Chancellor of England under Henry VIII.

I know that the Members of the House, particularly the lawyer Members, will join me in welcoming this important contribution to the literature of the law, and wishing for it many years of success.

It is particularly appropriate that I should call this to your attention today, Washington's birthday, since this morning, St. John's University of Brooklyn was hailed at Valley Forge, Pa., by the Freedoms Foundation for its outstand-ing contribution to the American way of life during the year 1954.

# George Washington and the \$20 Income Tax Reduction Scheme

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, today this House heard an excellent reading of the Farewell Address of our first President, George Washington, by the gentleman from Florida [Mr. KRAMER]. I congratulate him.

This is a traditional honor we pay to the founder of our country on the anniversary of his birth.

But it amounts to more than that, What George Washington said in that address amounts to a lot of good common sense on how to run a country. We hear a lot of foolishness in this Chamber from time to time and I presume whoever thought up this custom of reading the Farewell Address each year had in mind that such an annual air conditioning would do us some good.

Certainly, this year it could not have come at a better time considering the fact that we are shortly to commence debate on the politically frank and obvious \$20 income tax scheme measure.

Now I ask you, my colleagues, isn't it pretty clear what George Washington would say about the thing if he were here today?

Listening to his beautifully worded Farewell Address leaves little doubt he'd go out after it like a mongoose after a

My only question is what kind of language would he use. It's my guess it would be a lot less formal than the style he used for the Address.

But he isn't here so we have to look to the Farewell Address.

This is what Washington says about the politics involved in this scheme by the Democratic Party to woo millions of votes by putting an extra \$20 bill in each of their pockets:

The common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it. It serves always to distract the public councils, and enfeeble the public administration.

As I read the foregoing in light of the \$20 scheme, Washington would regard the partisan political purpose behind it as a mischief which sidetracks the Congress from its duty of providing good government for the people of the United States. It would, in fact, weaken the Government of the United States. Further, according to Washington, the people of this country in their wisdom ought to discourage such goings

Next, let us take a look at what the Father of our Country has to say about the finances involved:

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible, avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering, also, that timely disbursements, to

prepare for danger, frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions, in time of peace, to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing on posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear.

The execution of these maxims belongs

to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should cooperate. facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind that toward the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant.

As I read the foregoing in light of the \$20 scheme, Washington would abhor it. He says to have a regard for the amount of our public debt. Sure, spend money to meet emergencies, but when the emergency is over, get rid of the debt; do not saddle it on your children and your children's children. And do not forget, unpleasant as they are, taxes are the only way of paying for the expenditures of government.

There, my colleagues, you have the wisdom on this subject of a man much more versed in the intricacies of government than most of us.

But even George Washington was somewhat dubious as to whether or not you would heed it. In the closing portions of his Farewell Address he had this to sav:

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our Nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations, but if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit \* \* \* this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare by which they have been dictated.

As I read the foregoing in light of the \$20 scheme, even though Washington mentions the expectation that his advice "may be productive of some partial benefit," I think in this instance he would expect us to do more than cut it down to \$10. I think he would expect us. in this situation where there is a choice between doing what is right for a political party and doing what is right for our country, to have the wherewithal to choose to do what is right for our country.

# President's Highway Message

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, President Eisenhower's highway program repeats his now familiar process of coolly surveying a national problem and advancing a sound means by which the problem can be attacked and steps taken toward eventual solution.

No responsible person can deny that our Nation is facing eventual strangulation on the highways. For half a century it has been a nip and tuck battle to keep highway construction ahead of automotive progress. We must move ahead with this bold plan in order to expedite the flow of goods and people from place to place. Whether in war or in peace, our highways are vital to the national economy and welfare. If we can reduce the annual carnage caused by traffic accidents, this alone will make our efforts worth while.

I am particularly pleased with the fiscal aspects of the President's scheme. Here again, the planning is based on our anticipated revenues over a specific period of time. The improved highway system will be paid for out of the funds received from increased gas tax revenues as America grows and is not a mortgage on the earning capacity of future generations as has been the case with other half-baked schemes of past years.

This is a blueprint for action which we as legislators should get behind and support.

Señor Miguel Alemán, Former President of Mexico, Encourages Joint Action in Promoting Economic Development of Latin America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

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# HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, as a result of several visits to Mexico, the countries of Central America and South America, I have become greatly impressed with the economic future of these countries and the possibility of the extensive development of their resources.

In view of the above I have been a strong and persistent advocate of closer relations between our Nation and those to the south. I regret that the advantage of such a policy has not been recognized as fully as it should have been. I trust, however, that a better understanding and a greater cooperation will grow out of the combined efforts that are finding expression in many different ways.

In this connection, I call attention to the Inter-American Investment Conference opening in New Orleans on February 28, 1955. This conference was initiated in Washington officially; then the idea was taken up unofficially by several parties and sponsored by the city of New Orleans through its International House and by Life and Time magazines. The individuals in charge of promoting the idea are Mr. Edgar R. Baker and Mr. Rudolph S. Hecht.

Señor Miguel Alemán, former President of Mexico, was invited to attend but was unable to do so because of prior engagements in Central and South Amer-

ica. However, he sent the conference a message, as follows:

Latin America requires capital for development, designed to enlarge her economy on a plan of collaboration with her private capital resources, through sound investments creative of new sources of wealth and of labor, making for the real permanent advancement of each of her countries and of the hemispheric community.

We are all good neighbors and loyal partners and should furthermore be devoted in common to the principles of democracy applied to human fellowship in all its aspects and everywhere.

In the spiritual field, by consecrating ourselves to the service of the fundamental liberties to believe and to think, as well as of the freedom to express thoughts and beliefs.

In the economic field, by joining our efforts in order to make the progress of our countries an exemplary thesis set before the world, conceived in the following terms:

That private investments made for the equitable profit of all concerned do firmly uphold, together with justice, the peace among nations.

That in order to abolish the dire impoverishment which is one of the breeding grounds of communism, it is not enough to aim at a decorous poverty; the decided promotion of a generous and honorable abundance for all is what is needed.

This is now possible in the New World, as proven by the determination that inspires the Inter-American Investment Conference.

The spirit of cooperation and mutual helpfulness expressed by former President Alemán are entitled to serious consideration. A recognition of such principles would help materially in promoting goodwill between the respective nations in the Americas.

# Fair Treatment for Mexico Under the Sugar Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. CLAIR ENGLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, there are in my district many splendid United States citizens of Mexican descent. Through them and through my experience as a Member of Congress, I have come to admire and respect the Mexican people and our great good neighbor to the south, the Republic of Mexico.

That is why, Mr. Speaker, I should like to call the attention of the House to an urgent problem facing the Mexican people—the present plight of the Mexican sugar industry. That industry, the fourth largest in Mexico, is in danger of being frozen out of its fair place in the world sugar market. Regrettably, that result is being brought about in large part, through the operation of the United States Sugar Act.

In recent weeks there have been discussions, at the White House and the Department of Agriculture, with a view to recommending legislation to amend the Sugar Act so as to insure an equitable share of the United States sugar market for domestic sugar producers. I am heartily in accord with that ob-

jective. At the same time, however, if we are to amend the existing legislation at this time, we should certainly use the opportunity to adjust the grossly inequitable division of the remainder of the United States market among foreign producers, which exists under the present law.

Mr. Speaker, the requirements of the Mexican sugar industry are in no sense inconsistent with the promotion of a healthy, competitive sugar industry in the United States. Mexico has no quarrel with the objectives of the United States sugar producers or with their proposals as set forth in recent official discussions. Mexico is merely seeking an equitable distribution among foreign countries, of the market which remains after domestic production is accounted for-a distribution which takes into account the economic facts of life in terms of trade balance with the United States. total sugar production and the impact of the United States sugar program upon the economy of the exporting countries.

In the recent discussions of the reciprocal trade bill we heard many fine-sounding words about trade, not aid, and about the necessity for enabling our friends and allies to purchase our goods and services by purchasing from them what they can best produce. It is time to practice what we preach. I firmly believe in helping those who help the

United States.

Mexico is the third largest purchaser of United States goods in the entire world, surpassed only by Canada and Japan. In the past 22 months, Mexican purchases from the United States totaled \$1,165,000,000. In the eight classifications of leading United States exports to Latin America published by the United States Department of Commerce for 1953, Mexico is the largest importer and occupies first place in 5, second place in 1 and third place in 2 of the classifications. In that year, Mexico imported from the United States \$156.2 million in industrial and electrical machinery, \$83.4 million in autos and trucks, \$70.5 million in chemicals, \$39.4 million in iron and steel mill products and \$294.9 million in other products. No other sugar exporting country came anywhere close to these figures.

At the same time, over the past 22 months, Mexico's balance of trade with the United States has been unfavorable to Mexico by \$532 million. For every dollar the United States spent in Mexico, Mexico spent \$1.84 in the United States—almost 2 for 1.

Even within the sugar industry itself, the balance of trade between the United States and Mexico is overwhelmingly unfavorable to Mexico. Every bit of sugar-processing machinery and spare parts used in Mexico has been purchased in the United States. During the past 5-year period the Mexican sugar industry imported \$38 million worth of United States manufactured equipment. During the same period, Mexico was permitted to sell to the United States only \$4½ million worth of Mexican sugar.

It is obvious, of course, that in the present dollar situation no nation can indefinitely sustain so great a trade imbalance without a serious deterioration

of its imports from the United States. Mr. Speaker, one of the stated objectives of the Sugar Act is to promote the export trade of the United States. In view of this express language of the statute, one would certainly expect that the export quota allotted to Mexico by the administrators of the act would bear some reasonable relationship to the trade picture and take into account the crucial dollar gap problem of the Mexican people. That has not been done, however. In fact, the quota allotted to Mexico is so small as to be ridiculous.

In the face of the tremendous support afforded the United States economy by Mexican imports, Mexico has been allotted a quota of only 11,445 tons of sugar out of a total United States consumption of 8,200,000 tons. This represents only 1 percent of Mexican production and only fourteen one-hundredths of 1 percent of the total United States market. Moreover, it represents only thirty-one one-hundredths of 1 percent of the total export quotas allotted all foreign countries.

Contrast the position of other sugar exporting countries. Cuba, which imports from the United States only about two-thirds as much as Mexico, and whose trade balance with the United States is substantially favorable to Cuba, has a quota of 2,667,840 tons. This represents 47 percent of her production, 32.5 percent of the total United States market and 96 percent of foreign quotas, excluding the Philippines.

Peru, which purchases from the United States only about 1/6 as much as Mexico, has a quota of 51,922 tons—almost 5 times that of Mexico. The Peruvian quota represents approximately 8 percent of her production, 0.63 percent of the United States market and 1.4 percent of the total foreign quotas.

The Dominican Republic, which purchases from the United States only about one-fourteenth as much as Mexico, has a quota of 27,634 tons, more than twice that of Mexico. This represents 4 percent of Dominican Republic production, 0.34 percent of the total United States market and 0.74 percent of total foreign quotas.

How did this grossly inequitable situation come about? It came about because of the failure to formulate in the Sugar Act a realistic basis for the continuing establishment of foreign sugar quotas. As a result, the system has broken down and produces outlandish results. There is a crying need for a commonsense approach to the foreign sugar problem, related to the facts of present day life, and divorced from ancient patterns and prejudices. We must recognize the equities and exigencies of today, and we must be mindful of the impact of what we do upon the lives and well-being of our friends and neighbors.

Aside from the simple equities of the situation and the economic self interest of the United States, there are other reasons why a healthy Mexican sugar industry is in the best interests of the United States. Mexico is the only sugar producing country with a border contiguous to our own and the only one in a position to provide uninterrupted, overland supply in the event of an emer-

gency. In time of war, this assured supply for United States industry is a matter of utmost importance to United States industry and the consuming public.

We all want our allies in the free world to be strong as a bulwark against Communist aggression. The economic wellbeing of our friends and allies is as much a part of our own national security as are arms and armies.

We must not underestimate the tragic effect which failure to correct the inequitable foreign sugar quotas will have upon the Mexican economy. The Mexican sugar industry is the fourth largest in that country. It supports well over half a million people. By dint of diligent and persistent effort, over the years, that industry has raised the standard of living of Mexican farm workers to a reasonable level. The operation of the quota system, as presently constituted, however, spells ruin for that great Mexican industry. With present export re-strictions in the world sugar market, if the United States does not allow Mexico a more equitable share of its sugar imports, it can only mean ruinous surpluses in Mexico or crippling acreage restrictions, either of which would deprive thousands of Mexican workers of a liveli-The social and economic impact of such an eventuality upon Mexico should be obvious. Mexico has already undergone a devaluation of its currency because of the unfavorable balance of its trade with the United States. Surely we should take reasonable measures to prevent additional economic dislocation and possible collapse of United States markets in that country.

Mr. Speaker, it is not as though these people were asking for an increase of millions of tons in their sugar quota. Cuba, which has a favorable balance of United States trade now has a quota equivalent to 32.5 percent of the United States market. A sugar quota for Mexico of only 2 percent of United States consumption would absorb that country's exportable surplus and give the industry the stability it so urgently requires. Such an adjustment would have a minimal effect upon the overall sugar picture. This is a case where so little on the part of the United States will mean so much to our Mexican friends.

Mr. Speaker, this is a situation which cries out for correction and I intend to make every effort to see that justice is done.

Postal Clerk Steals: Judge Is Sympathetic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

# HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, I should like to bring to the attention of my colleagues a matter which will soon come up for their consideration: The question of postal pay raises. At the conclusion of my remarks I insert a news item from the Detroit Free Press, dated Thursday,

February 17, 1955, and a copy of my letter to Federal Judge Theodore Levin. The news story tells of a veteran post office clerk with five children making \$84 per week and pleading guilty in Federal court of stealing \$231 of postal funds. Further, I am inserting in the Record a copy of my letter to Federal Judge Theodore Levin assuring him that my remarks are in no way intended to influence his duties as a jurist.

In his remarks from the bench Judge Levin states that "Something should be done about it." The implications contained in his statement, I feel, are directed to this body. When a jurist decries the inequities of a socio-economic situation which places beyond his scope of authority a means of applying a remedy I am of the opinion that those in a position to take action should not falter or hesitate. The remedy must be shaped here in the form of adequate postal pay legislation capable of answering not merely the needs of bare existence, but sufficient in scope to make the public servants of our postal system shareholders of a standard of living for which we can be justly proud.

I feel that the President's message on postal pay increases falls short of the mark in supplying the needed solution for this problem. The administration's salary plan, now before committee, calls for a 5 percent increase in basic salary rates What would this mean to the postal clerk that is responsible for nourishing five children along with himself and his wife? Not enough to pay onehalf the milk bill if he is supplying these tots with the recommended minimum of 1 quart per child per day. Since when has this great legislative body considered the basic welfare of its citizens secondary to a dream of making the postal service a self-supporting, going business concern? I do not say this to slur any efforts to make more efficient the operations of our Government agencies, but when human values are being equated with the cold statistics of fiscal policy, I, for one, shall never abide by any resultant that sacrifices humaneness for business expediency. Our responsibility is to the many—as well as the few.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I earnestly request my colleagues to join me in support of a 10-percent increase in the basic salary rates; retroactive to the date of the President's disapproval of H. R. 7774 of the 83d Congress.

POSTAL CLERK STEALS: JUDGE IS SYMPATHETIC (By Charles Manos)

A veteran post office clerk who makes \$84 a week pleaded guilty Wednesday in Federal court to stealing \$231.

Charged with misapplication of postal funds collected by him on cash-on-delivery packages was Clem Hall, 49, of 1866 Kenmore, Grosse Pointe Woods. He has five children—all under 12 years of age.

Hall's plea immediately drew from Judge Theodore Levin a sympathetic comment apparently aimed at pay scales for postal workers.

"It's a shame a good man like you should be a victim of circumstances," Judge Levin said. "Something should be done about it."

Hall, a clerk in the Grosse Pointe branch, has worked for the post office for 29 years.
Judge Levin released Hall, who will forfeit his job and possibly his pension rights, on

personal bond pending sentencing.

FEBRUARY 23, 1955.

Hon. Theodore Levin,
Judge, Federal District Court,
Eastern District of Michigan,
Detroit, Mich.

DEAR JUDGE LEVIN: I am enclosing with this letter a copy of some remarks I made this week on the floor of the House of Representatives. I sincerely hope that I have not taken any privileges in my interpretation of your comment in regards to this matter.

Since this individual is a member of my constituency I felt duty-bound to make public mention of the matter with the hope that adequate legislation would evolve therefrom. In no way do I intend my comments to influence you in your duties of administering the justice that our laws require.

I would be most interested to hear whatever further views you might have about the general problem.

Cordially,

Louis C. Rabaut, Member of Congress.

# Smog Can Kill, Claim Experts After Survey and Study

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, the Congress may soon have to give serious consideration to legislation concerning the responsibility of the Federal Government to help eliminate smog in highly industrialized and thickly populated areas throughout the Nation.

Smog and all forms of air pollution which are dangerous to the health and welfare of our people have been increasing steadily in the United States during the past decade, and I am sure that this is a matter in which all Members of Congress are concerned.

The Atomic Energy Commission informed the Nation recently of the horrifying effects and possible death and certainly the detriment to the health of millions of people within the area of an atomic bomb fallout which would contaminate and pollute the atmosphere within a 7,000-square-mile area, if the zero point was located in New York City.

This clearly indicates the urgent need of an immediate study of the effects of the fallout from atomic bombs tested in Nevada over the past several years.

Even if we knew nothing of the atomic bomb and did not have to consider the effects of the atomic fallout on millions of people, we would still have the serious problem of exhaust fumes from millions of motor vehicles which are increasing daily as they are not equipped with efficient carburetors to consume all of the gas delivered to the engine nor are they equipped with filters on the exhaust to neutralize or reduce the unburned gasoline vapors or the noxious products of combustion which is thrown into the atmosphere of thickly populated and highly industrialized areas in various parts of the Nation every day and thus contaminating the atmosphere with poisonous and irritating pollutants.

It is only fair to say at this point that the automobile manufacturers of the Nation are at present studying and experimenting with more efficient carburetors for motor vehicles which will reduce the poisonous gas now released from these machines. However, it is estimated that it will be a considerable time in the future before such a carburetor can be manufactured and applied to the millions of motor vehicles in operation in the United States.

Since motor vehicles are freely permitted in interstate commerce is further evidence that the problem of the elimination of smog and other air pollutants is one which the Federal Government should assume some responsibility for its solution.

Some preliminary studies have been made of the problem of smog and other atmospheric contaminants including a report by the Stanford Research Institute on the nature and causes of smog. This report, published in 1954, considered the growing smog problem of Los Angeles County since 1947, and pointed out that it is a serious problem which cannot be oversimplified. It is a problem which must be thoroughly understood, all contributing causes classified and identified, before effective control can be achieved.

I have introduced H. R. 3630 which would authorize the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to conduct intensified research into the causes, hazards, and effects on human health of smog and all forms of air pollution, and to investigate the most effective means of eliminating smog.

Many parts of the Nation have been severely affected by the deadly and irritating menace of air pollution, and Los Angeles County and other areas in southern California have had this problem for some time.

As further evidence of the dangerous effect of smog, a survey and study by medical experts was conducted recently which I submit herewith together with a letter to me from Francis M. Pottenger, Jr., M. D., chairman of the smog committee of the Los Angeles County Medical Association:

Monrovia, Calif., February 9, 1955. Hon. Gordon L. McDonough, House of Representatives,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE MCDONOUGH: I am sending a copy of the Los Angeles Times of January 21, 1955, which contains the full report of our committee which was passed by the council of the Los Angeles County Medical Association. In reply to your letter, my remarks are in clarification of these resolutions.

First, we feel that air pollution can cause death. It has done so elsewhere, including within the confines of the United States.

Air pollution is a continuing problem. It changes from day to day and locality to locality, depending upon meteorology as well as technological problems that apply in a given area at that particular time. For this reason, in the past, the committee has felt that the study of smog must to a large degree be based on the study of local factors. It is for that reason that we have felt that the acceptance of standards of toxicity that might be developed in Buffalo, N. Y., although they might deal fundamentally with the same toxicological studies, that the standard permissible in New York City would not necessarily apply to Los Angeles

because there may be other pollutants in the Los Angeles atmosphere that might not be present in Buffalo, and the effect of the Los Angeles pollutants might be additive, so that a far lesser concentration of a given component might be lethal or a serious health hazard, while in Buffalo it could be breathed with more or less impunity.

Likewise, we have realized that the pollutants are continually changing. They are changing as technical advances change, both as elimination is carried on and also as new techniques develop. On the other hand, we are convinced that it is essential that the relative toxicity of each major contaminant in the atmosphere be determined at once. That problem would be the same in any city of the United States, and, therefore, could be a problem of Federal Government.

Definite establishment of toxicological standards would provide the enforcement officer with two primary tools of great lever-First, it would provide him with a knowledge of what material must first be eliminated from the atmosphere, and, sec-ondly, it would provide him with information that would enable him to act in a legal manner should the accumulation of toxic elements reach a level that could be assumed to be approaching a critical health hazard. It is also essential from our point of view that some biological means of determining the general critical level of toxicity of air pollution must be discovered to supplement purely chemical determinations. A homely example of this was the early observation that poisonous fumes in mines would cause the canary bird to be overcome long before the effect on man was noted. This warned the miners that they must take measures to protect themselves.

As to the effect of your bill on the smog problem, it appears to me that any legislation that will encourage industry to install devices for the elimination of atmospheric pollution, such as a means for tax relief, should be encouraged. Likewise, although not included in your bill for the potential sources of atmospheric pollution, especially those that are associated with the wider use of atomic energy, should make it mandatory that industry determine the public health aspects of its pollutants that are new to the arts.

I certainly wish to thank you for your interest in this problem, and the committee will be very happy to receive further information. I will see that your bill is brought to the attention of our committee at its next meeting.

Sincerely,

FRANCIS M. POTTENGER, Jr., M. D., Chairman, Smog Committee, Los Angeles County Medical Association.

[From the Los Angeles Times of January 21, 1955]

Air Pollution Can Kill, Medic Group Claims
"Air pollution can cause death."

This was the first of a group of 9 motions submitted to the council of the Los Angeles County Medical Association by its smog committee and approved by the council, according to the association bulletin.

The smog committee, headed by Dr. Francis M. Pottenger, Jr., of Monrovia, also noted:

2. That air pollution is a continuing dynamic problem in the Los Angeles area.

#### SAFETY OF HUMANS

- That the smog committee proposes that biological as well as chemical indices must be determined for the safety of human beings.
- 4. That the smog committee approves in principle the establishment of chemical standards of air pollution as proposed and begun by the County Board of Supervisors.

5. That the smog committee feels that present chemical standards do not alone safe-

guard the health of the public.

6. That the tolerance levels of toxicity for human beings of each important contaminant in the atmosphere must be determined both for acute and chronic exposure, both singly and in combination,

#### REPORT WANTED

7. That the deans of the three medical schools in the area and the California Institute of Technology be requested to prepare a report to the Los Angeles County Medical Association indicating what program each school would propose to determine standards of toxicity of air pollutants, both acute and chronic, and to prepare an estimate of the cost of such a program.

That the council of the Los Angeles County Medical Association request each section of the association to send its chairman or representative to meet with the smog committee to make plans for a survey of the membership of the section as to the effect

of air pollution on human beings.

9. That the council of the Los Angeles County Medical Association request the county board of supervisors to obtain the cooperation of private, city, State and Federal agencies in financing the necessary facilities and salaries for biological research to determine critical standards of air pollution toxicity, utilizing the facilities of all local institutions capable of carrying on such research.

# Address by the Honorable Charles S. Thomas, Secretary of the Navy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 22, 1955

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of this body an address by the Honorable Charles S. Thomas, Secretary of the Navy, on the 160th anniversary of the United States Naval Supply Corps, which was delivered in New York on February 17, 1955.

Secretary Thomas in his speech has presented an excellent review of the Navy's defense program and the role of the Supply Corps in providing logistic support. Our Nation is indeed fortunate to have a man of the background and experience of Mr. Thomas serving in this vital position.

The address follows:

Mr. Jack, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, thank you, Mr. Murrow. That introduction, I trust, shows that I am a Supply Corps man at heart. I hope you will accept me here tonight as one of you.

Six days hence, as most of us know, the Navy's Supply Corps will be 160 years old. An organization doesn't attain that venerable age unless it has survived the old-age tests of service, farsightedness, and progres siveness. This birthday has been achieved by a steady performance which has always been outstanding in the area of military supply. The Nation and the Navy are better and stronger because of its contributions.

For those who may not be acquainted with the Navy's Supply Corps and its far-reaching activities, let me say that it is the Navy's business organization. Its officers are the business experts of the Navy. They manage a huge and complex organization which is responsible for getting the Navy what it needs, where it needs it, and when it needs it. Though complex and vast, the Supply Corps'

mission is simply summarized in a single phrase: "Service to the fleet."

As you all know, the Navy has just completed a very delicate and potentially dangerous task in the Formosan Straits. task has been performed expeditiously and in a most outstanding manner of which every American can be proud. I will hazard the opinion that there will be no immediate war in the Formosan Straits, and my reason for saying so is quite simple. Whenever the Communists are confronted by strength, resolve, and courage but without provocation. they halt. For the first time in this cold-war siege, they came face to face with the harsh realities of seapower at the coastline of the Formosan Straits' 100 miles of open sea. To be an aggressor here required more than an order to violate a frontier-they had to have the ability to control and cross that 100mile strip of water. And that they cannot

Parenthetically, I might point out that our Seventh Fleet couldn't have accom-plished this task had there not been an effective supply organization behind it. The food, the oil, the gasoline, the spare parts, the thousands of items which keep that fleet operating 7,000 miles from home-and in this case kept it on the line for many days-is an excellent example of the unseen and often unsung work of the Supply Corps.

Right now, Formosa is current business for us all, and I am afraid we haven't seen the last of it because in relation to the global scene, Formosa appears to be but a part of a pattern for conquest. A year ago, the pressure area was Indochina. Before that it was Korea. Before that it was Iran. Before that it was Berlin. The locale of the tensions are constantly shifting, but the pattern for conquest appears to remain the

We all know that the country and our President want a real and lasting peace and are working diligently for that objective. However, until the Communists show some tangible evidence of a like desire, we have no alternative but to keep ourselves in a constant state of readiness.

Therefore, I thought it would be both appropriate and timely tonight to speak about our Navy's defense program for the future and the vital part which the Supply Corps

Let us begin by reducing the problem to its basic essentials.

What is the threat which confronts the free world today? It appears to be a very patient and long-range program for world domination. And what is the nature of this threat? There are many answers to There are many answers to this question-the threat is spiritual, it is economic, it is psychological, and it is military. It is a spiritual contest between those who believe in the worth and dignity of the individual and who have faith in God and those who consider man only as an advanced but soulless type of animal. It is a contest of systems-free enterprise versus regimentation. It is a contest of philosophies between those who cherish freedom and those who practice tyranny. And lastly, it is a contest of military strengths. threat can be varied and complicated—a cold war or a hot war; a little war or a big war; a nuclear or a nonnuclear war.

Now in analyzing this threat and its danger, we must answer the question:

Is the threat immediate or is it one of extended tension? If the answer is that we anticipate an attack in the immediate future, we obviously should go all out on our expenditures for military defense and get ready to protect ourselves in every possible way.

To do so would cost us over \$100 billion every year. But if we miscalculate, spend \$100 billion and more 3 or 4 times, and we are not attacked, we would find ourselves in serious economic trouble. We might discover we have exhausted ourselves and allowed Communists to win by defauit.

On the other hand, if we decide that the danger is one of extended tension-one to test our patience, destroy our economy, and yet one which gives us time and opportunity to work for a real and lasting peace-I submit that the following elements are essential for a period of extended tension:

First. We must have a retaliation capability not only to deter war but to over-

whelm an enemy if he strikes.

Second. We must have a hard core of land, sea, and air forces which can be used in a variety of situations and in a variety of places. These forces must be able to handle localized emergencies yet strong enough to withstand the initial onslaught of a major conflict.

Third. We must have sea supremacy. Fourth. We must have a continental defense program.

Fifth. We must have a potent Reserve system organized for rapid expansion.

Sixth. We must have an industrial mobilization base also designed for rapid expansion.

And lastly. We must continue a strong research and development program to maintain our scientific lead.

In years past our defense program was either feast or famine. The past 20 years are typical of this accordion process. In 1935 our entire military defense budget was slightly more than a half-billion dollars. Then, during World War II, we spent approximately \$300 billion. By 1949 our defense budget had fallen back to only \$13 billion annually. Then, during the Korean war, we mushroomed again and spent almost \$200 billion.

The economy of the United States-or for that matter any nation's economy-cannot stand such violent changes very long. It is elementary that the process of rapidly building up and closing up is wasteful and unsound. It hurts lapor because it is a series of hirings and layoffs; it hurts industry because there can be no advance planning; it hurts the military because the Armed Forces are sharply expanded one year, seriously reduced the next.

If this process of sharp peaks and valleys in our military expenditures had been permitted to continue, it alone could have defeated us.

To reach his decision President Eisenhower considered all the factors. After the most careful analysis with the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and, as he said, after "prayerful study," he concluded that our military defense program must cover an indefinite period of extended tension, be adequate and strong, and yet one which the American taxpayer's pocketbook can support indefinitely. I know of no American better qualified to make that decision than President Eisenhower.

I would now like to examine with you this program of the President's in relation to the Navy. It is concisely summarized in his state of the Union message and can be divided into four major areas.

> STRATEGY, AIRPOWER, PROGRESS; AND ADMINISTRATION

Let us take these areas one by one. President had this to say about strategy:
"Undue reliance on one weapon or prep-

aration for only one kind of warfare simply invites an enemy to resort to another \* we must therefore keep in our Armed Forces balance and flexibility adequate to our needs."

This statement is in sharp contrast to pre-Korean days when our military strategy was drifting toward a one-weapon strategy and to preparation for a single type of war fare. Korea proved this strategy vulnerable and fallacious.

Since our national policy rejects preventive war, a potential enemy can choose the time, the type, the size, the scope, and the location of war. Our defenses, therefore, must be sufficiently balanced and flexible to meet a variety of threats, any one of which could defeat us.

Our offenses too, must be balanced and flexible. By having several systems or methods of retaliation instead of one, we force an aggressor to anticipate retaliation by every one of those methods or systems. By so doing, we accomplish three things:
We force him to increase his defense-

offense ratio. In other words, he must translate more of his capacity to strike to selfdefense.

We make him dilute his defenses. Instead of defending only one corridor, area, or avenue, he must anticipate reprisal from every direction and every frontier. And we add a heavier burden to his relatively poorer industrial machine.

Having several balanced and flexible offensive systems is a corollary aid in that it increases our chances of being able to deter

The Navy is tailored to provide sea forces embodying these fundamental principles of balance and flexibility. It makes the soundest, safest military sense.

Next airpower.

"The forthcoming military budget," said the President, "emphasizes modern airpower

in the Air Force, Navy, and Marine Corps."

How does the Navy feel about this? Well, the Navy agrees solidly. Within the Navy itself, because it is a big contributor to national airpower, the importance of airpower is thoroughly recognized and appreciated. Airpower over the seas, and emphasis upon

it, is growing constantly.

For example, the fleet now has airplanes of very great striking potential of many types and sizes which are fully capable of carrying weapons of rapid and destructive striking power. They can deliver atomic weapons to targets 1,000 miles away.

And we have just recently launched the first of a new class of carriers on which these planes are based. We are also developing a new family of jet seaplanes which can use the 70 percent of the surface of the world as 10,000 mile long runways.

These examples certainly highlight the growth of airpower in the Navy.

Third, progress.
"Our military planners," said the President, "must be flexible enough to use new

weapons and new techniques."

The numbers of new weapons in the Navy is quite surprising, even since the end of the Korean war. In the subsurface field, we have launched the atomic-powered submarine. Nautilus, which has exceeded our expectations. Three more atomic submarines are to be built. We have developed killer submarines to search for and destroy enemy submarines in their own element. We have troop-carrying submarines, tanker submarines, and guided-missile submarines.

On the surface of the sea, the Navy is

changing mightily. In addition to the mo-bile seabases of the Forrestal class, two guided-missile cruisers are joining the fleet this year. Three types of guided missiles are now operational in the fleet—an air-to-air

missile called Sparrow; a surface-to-air missile called Terrier; and a surface-to-surface missile cal'ed Regulus. We anticipate that the guided-missile field will change the Navy quite as much as did the change from wooden ships to metal ships.

In the air, the Navy is developing the helicopter to perform two offensive tasks-to hunt submarines and to transport Marines in an amphibious assault—as well as to perform a host of auxiliary roles. The Navy is also developing vertical-takeoff aircraft, jet seaplanes, bombers, and fighters, all of which we are now testing.

So in the matter of new weapons, the Navy is right in the forefront of progress.

In the matter of new techniques, we feel we are equally progressive. I will mention

two new techniques briefly.

To complement our fixed land bases, the Navy is emphasizing a new concept of mobile seabases-carriers, jet seaplanes, and guidedmissile ships. These moving bases will be able to prowl an aggressor's coastline. Their use will raise no problem of sovereignty. They will be able to change location at speeds up to 40 miles an hour to any area of the world's oceans and seas where their presence is required. Their locations will be unknown and unpredictable. They will be less vulnerable than fixed bases. These moving seabases will give our reprisal system the flexibility and dispersal it must have in these times when a sudden attack might overwhelm our fixed land bases.

Secondly, atomic propulsion. Naval ships are ideally adapted for atomic propulsion, and we are moving in this field as fast as is practicable. The naval aviation field also offers a great potential for the atomic pro-pulsion of aircraft. Atomic propulsion promises to change the Navy as much as did

the shift from sail to steam.

Finally, the President has repeatedly emphasized efficient administration. At a press conference a few weeks ago he said that it is no crime to strive for efficiency and economy in the national-defense program. In the state of the Union message, he said:

"In administration of these costly programs we demand the utmost efficiency.'

With 3 million people in the uniformed services, more than a million personnel in a supporting role, and spending approximately \$35 billion every year for an indefinite period, the armed services obviously must have the most modern, up-to-date supply systems for efficiently supervising volumes of this size.

As you gentlemen who represent American business know, good administration depends upon modern and efficient organization. It also requires experienced and efficient managers. It means good business methods and

systems.

What sort of a business organization does the Navy have to handle its \$10 billion annual budget? In my opinion, the Navy's Supply Corps has developed the best and most efficient supply system in the history of any military organization.

First of all, it is composed of a group of officers and men who are specialists and experts in their field. That they are experts is no circumstance. Seventy percent of the corps' officers have undergraduate degrees. Twenty percent have graduate degrees in business administration. This educational process continues throughout their careers, supplemented by periodic 3-month assignments to civilian business.

In regard to organization, the Navy Supply Corps was the first service to adopt financial accounting. It was the first to use industrial stock funds. It developed a cataloging system to handle its 1,350,000 stock items which came to be a model for other organizations. It has adopted whenever practicable the best management systems of business and industry. It was the first to specialize and decentralize its procurement functions to 14 offices around the country. For example, all aviation materials are controlled through Philadelphia; all food is controlled through Washington; all clothing is controlled through Brooklyn; all ships' parts are controlled through Mechanicsburg, and so on. At each of these locations, three key experts sit side by side.

An inventory expert determines how much to buy and where to buy it; a technical expert determines what to buy from an engineering standpoint; and a procurement expert who does the actual buying. This marriage of administrative, logistic, and engineering know-how has given the Navy a sound and economical supply structure and, more important than that, it has made the Navy a more effective fighting force.

In this regard I might mention the Supply Corps' development of the modern supply ship and replenishment-at-sea techniques whereby fighting ships are rearmed, replen-ished, and refueled at sea. Admiral Nimitz referred to this development as the Navy's secret weapon in World War II. The best example of this is our 6th Fleet which has been in the Mediterranean now for the past 8 years without a supply base nearer than Norfolk-3,000 miles away.

Such things as these bespeak a sound and

aggressive organization.

Few people today realize the importance of a modern and efficient supply system. Regardless of how able and well trained the military men, regardless of how fine their equipment, they are completely ineffective unless they can be rearmed and resupplied with all the vital things they need and at the time they need them.

The fine leadership and organization of the Supply Corps can insure, I am confident, that the President's demand for utmost efficiency will be carried out by the Navy.

Tonight I pay tribute to the Supply Corps and the wonderful group of men and women who make it successful. I know that its continued efficiency and performance will give increased strength to the Navy's and the country's defense program in the years to come.

# SENATE

Wednesday, February 23, 1955

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, our Father, Thou hast so made us that our hunger of soul can be satisfied only with the bread that cometh down from heaven, and our unutterable thirst can be assuaged only with the clear water from the River of Life. Lead us to the place of still waters and green pastures.

May this moment of prayer be as an open gate to boundless resources of Thy

grace, by which our strength may be renewed and our souls restored. Grant us courage, we ask, for the living of these days. We are the children of intrepid sires who, in fearful days, dared the wrath of devils and the scorn of men Measure us with the challenge of our times and make us worthy of those who in the dangerous yesterdays were strong and unafraid.

Keep our faith steadfast lest for lack of it we lose what Thou dost intend in this prophetic time. As Thou dost punish us for past iniquities and chasten us by present difficulties, strip us of our illusions, humble us under Thy hand. and fit us to be the instruments of Thy

will in helping and healing this stricken world. We ask it in the dear Redeemer's name. Amen.

# THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. CLEMENTS, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Tuesday, February 22, 1955, was dispensed with.

# MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Miller, one of his secretaries.